

IN THESE TIMES

PEOPLE'S
POET
Page 19



Jane Scherr

VOL. 3, NO. 47

OCTOBER 24-30, 1979

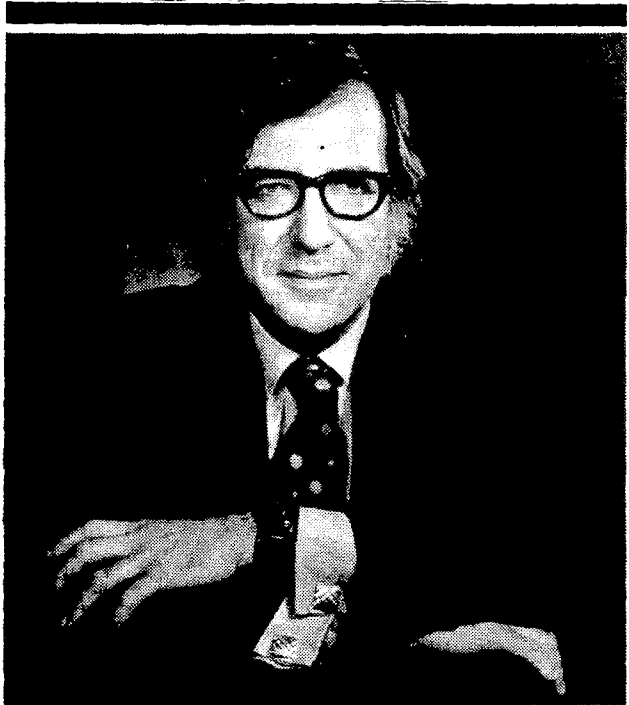
70 CENTS



Graphic by William Gropper

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INSIDE STORY



Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers.

The new Education Department a loss for Albert Shanker

By David Selden

Education has now been raised to cabinet rank—a stunning victory for the National Education Association (NEA) and a defeat for Albert Shanker and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The long range effect of this relatively simple structural change may be more profound than it seems at first glance. It may even be good for kids.

The NEA had been lobbying for a department of education for at least three decades. It was an important item in the association's bag of long range goals. Educators have long felt that the public does not show them a proper respect; elevating their work to the same status as foreign affairs, finance, commerce, labor, and war would correct that inequity. It was assumed, too, that with greater respect would come more money.

Until Jimmy Carter came along, most knowledgeable people believed there was little chance of raising education to cabinet status. In fact, during the Nixon administration, when I was president of the AFT, I ridiculed the idea by calling it "an honor without profit." I said it would be better to take the schools out of the political line of fire by setting up education as a semi-autonomous service under a national board of education and a superintendent chosen for a five year term.

I tried out my idea on then-Senator Walter Mondale, who thought it was too far out, and on a high official in the federal education bureaucracy, who pointed out that what education needed was *more* political clout, and that my proposal led in the opposite direction. After reflection, I began re-thinking my attitude.

Through the 1960s and early '70s, urged on by its need for power to counteract the growing strength of the labor-affiliated AFT, the NEA became increasingly active politically. By 1976 it was raising and spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to elect "friends of education." At the Democratic national convention that year, NEA delegates comprised a substantial part of the coalition that chose Carter as the party's standard-bearer. Earlier, at the association's own convention, Carter had endorsed the department of education idea.

Without the support of the President, of course, the education department bill would not have become law, and in recognition of that fact the NEA has now set out to help Carter get re-nominated and re-elected. As

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 47) published Oct. 24, 1979, for newsstand sales Oct. 24-30.

a consequence, the association may find that after a decade or more of drift in a generally leftward direction it has veered off to the right.

The NEA has bootlegged its mounting political activity prior to the Democratic mini-convention at Kansas City in 1974 because it feared that open participation in national partisan politics would alienate members. At that meeting, however, the association lined up with the United Auto Workers and women's, environmental, consumer, and civil rights groups to push through a series of liberal resolutions over the opposition of party regulars and old-line AFL-CIO unionists, including the AFT's Shanker.

The opposition of the AFT to the education department bill stemmed directly from organizational considerations. The official policy of the federation when Shanker became its president in 1974 was to unite teachers by working out a merger with the NEA. But instead of pursuing that policy by seeking out projects the two organizations could work on jointly, Shanker reverted to the Federation's David-and-Goliath policy of 10 years earlier by harrying the association at every possible point.

To acquire strength for resumption of the war against the association, Shanker offered uncritical support for the conservative policies of the George Meany clique within the AFL-CIO—a shift in the Federation's attitude that just happened to further Shanker's personal ambitions within the labor movement.

Had Shanker followed the AFT's pro-merger strategy, he could have grabbed a piece of the action by working out a deal with the NEA early on. His heedless, all-out opposition to the department bill not only allied the AFT with people and groups normally opposed to public education, such as those working for tuition tax credits, but it erected another obstacle in the way of eventually achieving teacher unity.

Passage of the education department bill over the AFT's opposition will undoubtedly encourage the NEA, long mistrustful of the advantages of merging with the AFT, in its belief that it can in time defeat its smaller but tough and pesky opponent. The muscle the association develops in the coming presidential campaign will strengthen that belief, win or lose.

As things stand, the line-ups in the Democratic Party for 1980 are as confused as those in the National Baseball League after Pete Rose went to Philadelphia and Tom Seaver went to Cincinnati. Along with the NEA on the Carter team are some of the nominally liberal AFL-CIO unions, such as the Communications Workers, while enlisting in the Kennedy cause are the Machinists Union and many of the AFL-CIO—which will include the AFT, of course.

If Carter wins the pennant and the championship, the NEA will have preferred status with the department of education; if Kennedy takes it, the AFT will be back in the ball game in spite of its defeat in the congressional contest over the department bill. There is no doubt that both teacher groups view the campaign in their own organizational terms.

But doesn't the new education department have intrinsic merit above and beyond the political maneuvering surrounding it? Emphatically, yes. In the first place, the original idea behind the proposal is sound. While department status does not carry increased financial support for education with it automatically, it is bound to have that result over time. Also important is the increased likelihood of eventually developing a national education strategy to create a better society. These two hoped-for outcomes caused conservatives to oppose the department bill.

Black leaders, unfortunately, also opposed the bill, and amazingly, Shirley Chisholm was actually a

featured speaker at this summer's AFT convention.

Although most of what is petty and mean in American public education—racial and religious discrimination, budget cutting, and book burning—is encouraged and protected by our tradition of local control, many blacks fear a nationwide education strategy would lead to the imposing of white middle class standards enforced by a standardized testing program. The NEA ironically, opposes all standardized examinations. The new law does contain a provision for a national advisory committee, perhaps a pale substitute for a national board of education.

David Selden was president of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, from 1968 to 1974.

ITT subscribers come through

In late August, we sent an emergency letter to 10,000 of our more long-term subscribers saying that we had to raise \$50,000 in order to survive through the end of 1979. Since the letter went out, we have received more than 1125 individual responses and more than \$32,550 from our subscribers (and another \$15,000 from other sources), thus assuring that we will be around for a while.

In addition, we've increased the number of our regular sustainers from 142 to 195. We now have monthly support pledges from sustainers of \$2,440.

This support from our readers is more than heartening. It shows a widespread appreciation of the purposes of *In These Times*, and a widespread feeling that we're doing a good job. One contributor wrote that our summer vacation "was bad enough, we can't go on without you." Another said we're "the classiest non-classist socialist newspaper we know of." A third endorsed his weekly paycheck over to us. And a couple, living on social security in Nevada, sent us \$100 and told us not to waste postage thanking them.

These responses, and many others, reflect the beginning of a new relationship between our readers and the staff of the paper. In recent decades, all publications, even those on the Left, have relied more and more heavily on commercial means of promotion, mostly in the form of direct mail solicitation. We are also heavily dependent on mailings to increase our circulation, and we've done well at it this year, as our circulation report on page 6 of this issue shows. But we have also been trying to develop a new attitude among our readers, one that overcomes the passivity of recent years.

In the long run, our growth and political success depends on the activities of our readers, both in getting us new subscribers and in seeing that the paper reaches those now politically or socially active, or likely to become so. The response of our readers to the fund letter, and the efforts of various individuals and groups in helping us become more widely known, and in getting us new subscribers bodes well for the future of *ITT* and the left.



(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 48 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, the last week of July, the first week of August and the last week of December by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor; John Judis, Political Editor; Patricia Aufderheide, Cultural Editor; David Moberg, National Affairs Editor; Mark Naison, Sports; Wilfred Burchett, (Asia & Africa); Diana Johnstone, (Paris); David Mandel (Jerusalem); Chris Mullin (London); Bruce Vander-vort, (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents; Steve Rosswurm, Librarian; Ken Rattner, Proofreader.

BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 738-9707.
DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303) 388-3850

NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.

ART

Tom Greensfelder, Director; Jessie Bunn, Associate Director; Dolores Wilber, Assistant Director; Jim Rinnert, Ann Barns, Composition; Pam Rice, Camera; Ken Firestone, Photographer.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Jan Czarnik, General Manager; Pat Vander Meer, Circulation; Bob Nicklas, Advertising/Promotion; Bill Rehm, Office; Steve Rosswurm, Special Projects.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *IN THESE TIMES* is copyright © 1979 by Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. All rights reserved. *IN THESE TIMES* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All editorial, advertising, and business correspondence should be sent to: *IN THESE TIMES*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to: 5615 W. Cermak Rd., Cicero, IL 60650. Subscriptions are \$19.00 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$32.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *IN THESE TIMES* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

IN THESE TIMES

Unions spark Big Oil protests

By John Jurek

OCTOBER 17, SOME 30,000 DEMONSTRATORS in 103 cities stood, marched, and sang against rising oil company prices. The "Big Oil Day" demonstrations were called by a coalition that included over 200 labor unions, citizens groups, senior citizen organizations, and consumer, environmental, religious, and minority organizations. It was the first large scale nationally-coordinated demonstration on the left since anti-war days.

The coalition was based on three demands: that price controls on oil and natural gas be reimposed; that a federal official be appointed with the authority to investigate price gouging and artificial shortages; and that a publicly-owned federal energy corporation be created. These demands, plus other energy reforms that have been circulating in Congress, were embodied in a Citizens Energy Act of 1979, which was introduced last week by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Oh.) and Rep. Toby Moffett (D-Conn.).

The turnout for the demonstrations reflected some support for the coalition's demands, particularly within the labor movement. But the coalition will have to build much broader support if it wants to move a President and Congress who even as the demonstrations were taking place—were capitulating to oil company pressure on one issue after another.

Avoid nuclear issue.

The Campaign for Lower Energy Prices, which called the demonstrations, was itself the child of two other recently organized coalitions: the United Auto Workers-led Progressive Alliance and



A. DiFranco

the Machinist-led Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC). In assembling its forces, the Campaign focussed on oil prices and profits and avoided the nuclear power issue for fear of alienating potential labor support. The success of this strategy was shown in endorsements from the national and state AFL-CIOs and active participation by the Building Trades. Its possible drawback could be seen in the virtual absence at the demonstrations of the young, impassioned protestors that the anti-nuclear movement has attracted.

Actions on Big Oil day ranged from a noon rally in Hayti Heights, Mo. called

Continued on page 18.

Autoworkers get the message out

By David Moberg

NEW YORK

IN THE BACK ROOM OF THE LONG, narrow office on lower Broadway that serves as headquarters for United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 259, a group of loyal activists were readying themselves for the picket line, stocking their bodies with the inevitable coffee and rolls. Their first stop in the Oct. 17 Campaign for Lower Energy Prices was the Exxon Building at Rockefeller Center.

For that they needed their picket signs: "Do Unto Big Oil What They Do To Us—Rip Them Off—Nationalize Big Oil" and "Freeze the Oil Barons, Not the Elderly." They also had to arrange for subway tokens for the several dozen demonstrators from the local. And they got as a bonus a few words from Sam Meyers, a local president for 20 years, a outspoken leftist and a bubbling, curly-haired cauldron of earthy gregariousness.

"I want all you guys to be sure to take a leak before you go," he advised the retired men before launching into the message he would repeat dozens of times that day—to reporters, to a rally, and to oil company executives. "The retired people are getting hurt most by the big oil ripoffs. That's why we're here, a token of retired members, the leadership of our union and some people from our shop. Right now the majority of working people and poor people face a crisis, and many aren't going to be able to afford both to heat and eat this winter. They'll have to make a hard choice."

"So what we're saying to oil companies is first, they've got to roll back prices. Second, we're going to hold them responsible if anybody dies in New York because of lack of heat they couldn't afford. If they won't supply the oil, the government should go in and confiscate their oil. We're saying to our government, 'you must control what we can't control.' These domestic oil companies are just beating the hell out of the American people."

The local had already got that message out. There had been a five-minute work stoppage Aug. 22, leaflet-

ting in the couple hundred shops—most of them auto dealers—that make up the five thousand-member local, and continual injunctions from Meyers that they couldn't beat inflation at the bargaining table alone. They had to get political. But since the demonstration was on a work day, only stewards from a few shops were able to get off without a loss of pay. They had few problems because their bosses were small business owners also hurt by high oil prices.

On the subway, Meyers described his local's activity in the civil rights movement and its early position against the war in Vietnam. Unlike most union leaders, including many who were nominally in support of the Oct. 17 demonstrations, Meyers takes advantage of any opportunity to reactivate the local. Now, he said, it was easier for him to be outspoken. "I consider myself a socialist," he said. "I find it easier to pronounce that now," especially since a number of top union officials have done so recently.

William Wimpisinger, Machinist president and chair of the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC), the main organizing force behind the Oct. 17 demonstrations, is the most prominent of those newly public socialist leaders. And he makes sure his troops march. A group of machinists and a couple dozen other C/LEC supporters joined Local 259 in front of Exxon. "Wimpisinger is our leader," District 15 Machinists business manager Barney Kelly said. "We follow our leader."

Not every union leader at all levels was quite so forcefully behind the Big Oil protest. The noon rally in front of the Astor Place headquarters of District 57, now merged with the UAW, drew a disappointing 600 people. District 1199, the hospital workers, was not present, despite its progressive reputation and large New York membership. Neither was Victor Gotbaum's District Council 37 of the State, County and Municipal Employees.

Various people blamed the shortfall on such factors as competing preoccupation (such as hospital closings), failures of the organizers to involve some leaders early enough and the

Continued on page 16.



June Fonda speaking to the demonstrators in Chicago, Oct. 17.

IN SHORT

NATION

SWP charges FBI urged deportations

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is demanding full government disclosure of what the SWP says is a program by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport non-citizen members of the party.

SWP White House candidate Andrew Pulley blasted proposals to restructure the FBI as moves towards giving the agency even more power to spy and harass.

FBI documents released to the SWP in connection with the party's \$40 million lawsuit over government spying and harassment include a January 1964 memorandum discussing the use of the INS to deport party members.

The memo said "this could be the start of something big," referring to a request by an INS official for FBI information on the SWP.



Steelworkers have been trying to force Newport News Shipbuilding to the bargaining table since January 1978.

Court backs USW shipbuilders

Union negotiators for some 15,000 steelworkers at Newport News Shipbuilding in Virginia are mapping a federal court order to the company to begin talks.

The United Steelworkers of America (USW) have been fighting a protracted court battle with the company since ousting the company's Peninsula Shipbuilders Association union in January 1978.

USW representative Bill Edwards told IN THESE TIMES "these guys (local members) have been down a damn rocky road," but he said morale is good and negotiators "already have the membership's idea on what's needed in that yard."

Steelworkers had struck the Tenneco conglomerate January 1979 after a series of company legal challenges to the union election a year earlier.

The strike was called off less than three months later, due partly to lack of support by workers and partly to what one union official said was the USW's desire to wait for a courtroom decision.

In a separate dispute, white collar USW members at Newport News ended their strike in July over unfair labor practices.

Estimates by steelworkers for the start of talks with the company range from several weeks to "a long time," and one union official hinted there could be another strike at the shipyards by spring.

Nuclear builders cited for contempt

A judge at Claremore, Okla., has cited General Electric (GE) with indirect contempt of court after the company refused to bring documents to court that allegedly listed 27 potential safety defects on GE-designed nuclear reactors.

The documents were subpoenaed by protestors charged with trespassing during civil disobedience at the Black Fox nuclear site at Inola, Ind., in June. (ITT, Oct. 10).

The 300 trespassing defendants were freed after a jury failed to reach a verdict on the misdemeanor charges. But Judge David Allen Box, who had allowed courtroom debate on nuclear energy safety, said he was "perturbed" at GE's refusal.

The company claims the documents contain trade secrets whose publication will hurt GE in the nuclear energy market.

Morris jury hung

A mistrial was declared Oct. 12 at the close of a two-week long criminal trespass trial of 12 protestors at a Morris, Ill. nuclear site when the jury reported it was deadlocked.

The 12 were arrested Aug. 19, 1978, when they climbed over a six-foot high fence in an attempt to sit down in front of the main gate to General Electric's nuclear waste storage facility.

Connection needs emergency funds

The Madison Press Connection—publisher of last month's H-bomb "secrets" scoop—could be blown out of business soon if a critical drain on cash isn't plugged with capital.

The worker-owned Wisconsin daily owes about \$80,000 to bankers, who so far have been willing to roll over the debt and even cover "serious overdrafts," according to Managing Editor Skip

Frank.

He said the end could be near, due in part to slow payment from small advertisers, but said "if we can get out of this hole, there's reason to hope" for future financial success.

The strikers hoped to use the Press Connection as a bargaining lever against the company. By February 1977, "we decided to up the stakes and go daily," Frank said.

By June 1978, the strike had been lost, but the Press Connection survived, with 11,000 paid subscriptions and 20 to 40 pages per day.

Frank said the Press Connection will offer \$100 per share common stock. One hundred dollar per share preferred stock offering a possible eight percent dividend "when we start to make a profit" will also be issued, Frank said.

Bleeding advertising dollars from established Madison newspapers was the motivation for founding the Press Connection during a strike at Madison Newspapers, Inc., in October 1977 by Newspaper Guild, International Typographical Union and other unionists.

Puerto Rican pol jailed going to UN

A contempt of court trial begins Oct. 31 in San Juan for Puerto Rican Socialist Party Secretary General Juan Mari Bras.

Bras, an attorney, was arrested in Puerto Rico last month on his way to New York for a meeting with United Nations General Assembly President Salim Ahmed Salim concerning Puerto Rican independence.

He was charged with contempt after delaying a trial to attend the non-aligned nations summit conference in Havana. Mari Bras was defending 21 persons arrested in connection with demonstrations against the Navy's use of the island of Vieques as a gunnery range.

According to a spokesperson for the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in New York, Mari Bras faces six months in prison if convicted.

WORLD

Peasants shot over livestock dispute

Two Portuguese farm workers, aged 17 and 57, were shot dead and several others wounded by national guard soldiers Sept. 27 when peasants belonging to the Bento Gonçalves farm collective in Portugal's Alentejo region resisted orders to turn over a herd of cattle to the local landlord.

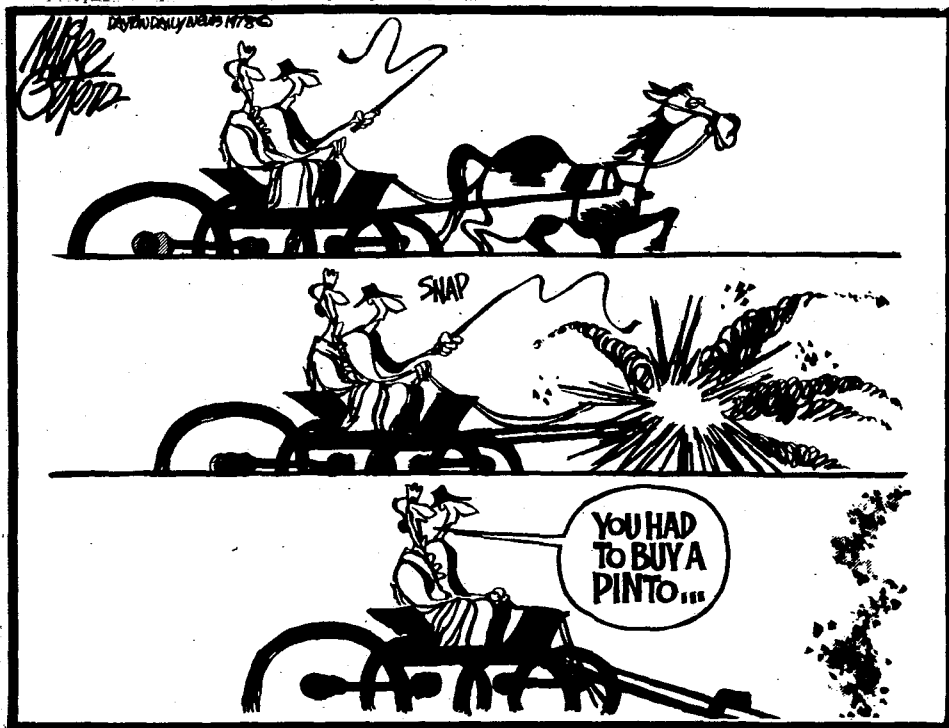
The collective had agreed to give up a tract of land occupied in the wake of the April 1974 revolution. The restitution was ordered under a 1976 law sponsored by the Socialist government of Mario Soares, partly undoing the earlier radical land reform affecting Alentejo's latifundia (large estates), whose landless peasants traditionally strongly back the Portuguese Communist Party.

But the peasants insisted on keeping a herd of cattle they had raised there. The law is unclear on that point, but soldiers were sent to enforce the landlord's point of view.

Land restitution has caused many tense moments in Alentejo, but this was the first time peasants were killed.

The land controversy is expected to dominate Portugal's Dec. 2 legislative election campaign, with caretaker Prime Minister Maria de Lurdes Pintassilgo already promising to slow down land transfers.

—Diana Johnstone



Pinto dangers "rehashed" as exclusive

Ford Pintos are back in the news, this time in a three part, front page copyrighted Chicago Tribune series exposing Ford documents filed at a courthouse in Indiana where the company is being prosecuted for reckless homicide for its alleged coverup of unsafe Pinto gasoline tanks.

The documents, which Ford lawyers

succeeded in sealing from the public after learning of Tribune reporter Lee Strobel's investigation, outline a Ford cost analysis that concluded deaths, injuries and wrecked vehicles from the gas tank problem might cost \$49.5 million compared to \$167 million—or \$11 per vehicle—for safety modification.

The story also charged Ford lobbied

against tougher fuel system safety requirements.

The Winamac, Ind., case—believed to be the first time a corporation has been prosecuted for criminal acts—is the result of the 1973 deaths of three women after a Pinto gas tank fire caused by a rear end collision.

In a two paragraph, page 17 New York Times story, Ford responded to the Tribune series, calling it a "rehash" of charges first published two years ago.

The Times quoted a Ford spokesman who said "if you remember that Mother Jones magazine on the West Coast, and the charges they leveled against the company back in August of 1977—well, those are the same allegations that have surfaced again in the Tribune story."

Elkhart, Ind., county prosecutor Michael Cosentino told IN THESE TIMES the wrist slap \$30,000 maximum penalty Ford faced if convicted could be coupled with "the possibility the corporation could be put on probation."

Cosentino said that could mean Ford would have to possibly "make things right" under the orders of a judge or face further criminal prosecution.

No company officials are liable for prison sentences or personal fines under the Indiana prosecution, he said.

Ford is fighting a civil court decision in California that awarded an initial \$127 million—later reduced to \$6 million—in a case involving a teenager burned over 95 percent of his body.

IN THE NATION

LESBIANS AND GAYS

100,000 demonstrate for their rights

By Ronni Schuler

LAST WEEK'S NATIONAL Lesbian and Gay Rights March on Washington was the largest political action for gay rights in the nation's history. A milestone in the history of the gay rights movement, it was hailed as the start of a major political campaign.

And for an estimated 100,000 lesbians and gay men who poured into the nation's capital, it was an exhilarating, if brief, release from the isolation and vigilance with which they shield their lives from employers, parents and others in our hometowns.

"We're 50 million strong and we're not going to ask anyone, we're demanding, America, that you deal with us," cried Arlie Spence, vice president of the National Organization for Women. "In the '80s we are moving from gay pride to gay politics."

"I know how how blacks felt who stood here and heard Martin Luther King say 'I have a dream,'" said Ron Sable, a medical resident at Cook County Hospital in Chicago. "There is the sense of the power that individuals have together to make history."

Contingents from all 50 states, 23 countries and Puerto Rico took part in the march and rally following. The largest contingents came from New York, California, Texas, Massachusetts and the Washington, D.C. area. More than 529 hours after the head of the march began the two-mile route its tail had not yet reached the rally site.

Opposition to the peaceful demonstration—the first nationwide event organized by lesbians and gays—came from two white-roving counter-demonstrators along the march route. Also, three tear gas canisters were thrown at a group of supporters, but no injuries were reported. Anti-gay activist Anita Bryant called a prayer session to coincide with the march, but at the last minute said she would be unable to attend. And some 70 anti-gay Christians gathered to pray for repentance of homosexuals.

The crowd, chilled by crisp and damp fall weather, was loud, defiant and jubilant. A marching band in colorful regalia and an 80-member men's chorus from Los Angeles offset cheers and chants that ranged from "Gay Rights Now!" to "Hey, hey, ho, ho, patriarchy's got to go!" Men and women were about equally represented. Although there was a large international and third world contingent, the marchers were mostly white. The route followed Pennsylvania Avenue past the Department of Justice, FBI headquarters and the White House, concluding at a rally site beneath the Washington Monument. About 50 black and Asian lesbians and gay men marched separately through a predominantly black neighborhood and to Chinatown.

The rally.

Among the speakers at the four-hour rally were Charles Law, director of Institutional Research at Texas Southern University; the Rev. Troy Perry, founder of the Metropolitan Community Church, a nationwide network of gay churches; feminist writer Kate Millett; gay activist Leonard Matlovich; Meason Shurt, president of the National Organization for Women; labor activist Howard Wallace; and Reps. Ted Weiss (D-NY) and Philip Burton (D-CA), co-sponsors of a bill that would amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit discrimination against homosexuals.



The march on Washington was the largest action of its kind in the nation's history. Contingents from all 50 states, Puerto Rico and 23 other countries attended the march and the rally following it.

Speakers reflected the multi-racial and cross-class nature of the gay population. Several emphasized the importance of linking the gay rights movement with other struggles against oppression. They also noted that racism and sexism are problems within the gay community, itself. "Racism and sexism within our community only serve the interests of those who want to keep us divided," said Juanita Ramos of the Comité Homosexual Latinoamericano. "Jimmy Carter and the politicians who deny lesbians and gay men their rights are the same politicians who are deaf to the demands of poor people for hospitals and food while they give millions of dollars for defense and nuclear power," declared Kathy Dennis of Youth Against War and Fascism. "The enemy is the racist and sexist society we live in," she said.

"This is the beginning of a new front," asserted black lesbian poet Audre Lord. "For we are saying that the struggles of lesbians and gay men are a real and particular part of the struggles of all oppressed people in this country. We must fight for a society free of racism, sexism and homophobia because these oppressions are inseparable."

Lesbians and gays "have always been in the vanguard of struggles for liberation and justice," she noted.

More than 500 persons attended a National Third World Lesbian/Gay Conference, Oct. 12-15, co-sponsored by the National Coalition of Black Gays and the National Gay Task Force. The goal of the conference was to establish a national network for third world

lesbians and gays and to "confront issues of racism, sexism, homophobia and heterophobia," according to conference organizers.

Tenth anniversary.

The march commemorated the tenth anniversary of the modern gay rights movement, triggered in 1969 when New York City police routinely raided a gay men's bar in Greenwich Village called the Stonewall, and gays, for the first time, rioted against the police harassment. Organization of the march was a grass roots effort; national gay groups such as the National Gay Task Force, Gay Rights National Lobby and Metropolitan Community Church waited until late in the planning effort to endorse the project, concerned that a national march would drain needed energy and money from local gay rights battles. Focus and purpose were added to the march by the introduction of the Weiss bill in the House of Representatives and of an anti-gay resolution by Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.). (The McDonald resolution would provide that homosexuals "shall never receive special consideration or a protected status under law.") In the end, more than 150 organizations and individuals endorsed the march.

The cost of the march was more than \$150,000, raised entirely from individual loans, concerts and bar benefits, cocktail parties and other local fund-



raising efforts, according to David Knudson of Boston, a member of the 16-member national march coordinating committee.

The first planning conference was held Feb. 23, three months after gay San Francisco city supervisor Harvey Milk was slain. (Milk had been involved in initial planning for the march.) National offices in New York and Washington were established along with seven regional offices and a 224-member steering committee was formed. Regional conferences elected delegates to the second nationwide planning conference July 6-8 in Houston, Tex.

The gay rights movement traditionally has assumed a white male cast. To insure a broad spectrum of participation, therefore, march organizers created a structure that required minimum participation of 50 percent women and 20 percent third world men and women in all planning and leadership for the march. All leadership positions were shared by male and female co-coordinators.

The march manifesto seeks "an end to all social, economic, judicial and legal oppression of lesbian and gay people." Specifically, it demands that sodomy and other anti-homosexual laws be repealed, that Congress pass a comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill and that President Carter issue an order

Continued on page 8.

OIL SHALE



Odds on recovering fuel from "the rock that burns" are slim

By Timothy Lange

THE UTES CALLED OIL SHALE *Timpe Niache*, the "rock that burns." And ever since these Indians were muscled off their rugged, game-filled plateaus here in northwest Colorado, whites unsuccessfully have schemed to get rich wringing burnable oil from the rock.

Periodically for 60 years, predictions of imminent booms have produced flurries of excitement, but little oil. Now, with Washington ready to give big energy a multibillion dollar oil shale grubstake as part of President Carter's crash synfuel program, this scenic and sparsely inhabited region verges on changes more profound than any since the Utes were exiled.

About 50 million years ago, microbes settled in two now-extinct great lakes providing the ingredients for this mother lode of fossil fuels, the world's richest oil shale deposit. Geologically, it is called the Green River formation, and extends into basins in Wyoming and Utah. Estimates of recoverable oil range from 130 billion to 1.8 trillion barrels, a potential that prompted a Denver geologist to rechristen oil shale "panaceaite."

But the bonanza has been elusive. Although Scotland, Sweden and Australia built small shale oil industries, and China and Estonia produced electricity in shale-fired plants, no economically viable operation has developed. That is at least partially because extracting oil requires mining and crushing the rock, heating it to 900 degrees F. in retorts, then treating it before refining. Oil from this expensive process has been unable to compete with oil from wells.

Promoters now say that, with federal incentives, shale oil can compete at \$15 to \$30 a barrel. As recently as 1975, the price was \$6.50 a barrel. To industry, which already has many shale oil subsidies, a good incentive package would include a \$3 a barrel tax credit, guaranteed federal oil purchases, looser environmental restrictions and loans. Occidental Oil's Armand Hammer also wants the feds to finance a plant that eventually would become privately owned. Most companies shy away from such direct government involvement.

For example, under authority of the Synthetic Fuel Act of 1944, the Bureau of Mines experimented with oil shale for nine years at Colorado's Anvil Points. A bureau report in 1953 concluded "it would be prudent of private industry to establish a pioneer oil shale plant." The

To minimize environmental and social hazards, Colorado's governor vigorously opposes President Carter's synfuel program. Along with other western politicians, he wants to go slow.

National Petroleum Council said the economics were unsound, and not wanting federal synfuel competition, demanded that Anvil Points be closed. In 1956 it was.

Knowledgeable observers agree the Bureau of Mines report was overly optimistic, but a 17-company consortium operating at the old Anvil Points site now wants to expand an experimental retort based on the bureau's design.

Whatever the economics, oil companies have long coveted the 80 percent of shale lands Washington owns, and, using archaic mining laws, they are attempting to pry the land from federal hands. In the late '60s, journalists and Department of Interior officials exposed oil shalers' mining claim shenanigans, and Interior no longer permits claims on oil shale. Nevertheless, the courts have yet to decide who owns more than six million acres of this rich land. If the companies win, they will avoid paying hundreds of millions of dollars in government royalties and lease fees.

Environmentalists worry about oil shale development, especially to the level Carter has proposed—400,000 barrels a day by 1990.

According to Kevin Markey of Denver's Friends of the Earth, a single \$1.5 billion surface plant extracting 50,000 barrels per day would require 25 million tons of shale annually, the nation's largest mining operation. Eight such plants are proposed.

Though it would produce less than one

percent of the nation's crude oil needs, an industry this size, says Markey, would threaten air and water quality, fill local canyons with tailings, reduce wild animal populations and consume enormous amounts of capital he thinks would be better spent on solar power and conservation. If the industry grew to a million barrels per day, it would cut into water supplies crucial to this semi-arid region's agriculture.

In situ shale operations might solve some problems. By skipping the mining phase and heating the rock underground, *in situ* cuts costs, eliminates tailings and surface pollution and uses less water. A decade ago, boosters predicted *in situ* atomic blasts could produce shale oil at 30 cents a barrel. The idea was squelched in 1974 when Colorado voters banned underground nuclear blasts.

Occidental's modified *in situ* process being tested on leased federal land is closest to commercialization. But it depends on some mining and is far from technologically certain. Microwaves and steam injections are also being tested *in situ*. Jack Gilmore, an oil shale expert at the Denver Research Institute, says of both surface and *in situ* proposals. "At the moment, I refuse to believe anybody knows what we're getting into."

There are other problems.

Until 1934, when the Food and Drug Administration cracked down, Harry Brown sold his shale oil heating balms throughout Colorado. Concern about oil shale's cancer risk has risen since.

Oil shale workers.

In Estonia, no excess cancers have been observed in shale workers. But weavers who lubricated spindles with Scottish shale oil in the 1920s and '30s showed excess skin cancers. The Scientist's Institute for Public Information claims "a worker exposed to shale oil is 50 times more liable to get skin cancer than a worker in contact with oil from a Pennsylvania well." Oil companies question

development.

In Rifle, Colo., the self-proclaimed "oil shale capital of the world," officials expect a tripling of the current 4000 population by 1985. For each permanent job created, \$25,000 is needed for new schools, hospitals, and other public facilities, expenditures far beyond the means of Rifle and other scattered Piceance towns.

Earlier boomtowns have taught some lessons, regional planning has occurred and some federal impact aid seems assured. But while a select few will get rich and jobs will be plentiful, much suffering can be expected from other typical boomtown symptoms: increased crime, taxes and prices; thriving mobile home slums; rising child abuse and mental health cases; clashes between newcomers and oldtimers; unequal competition for workers between energy companies and ranchers.

"It hasn't helped me."

Nearly a fourth of Rifle's inhabitants are over 65, and they will be hardest hit by rampant inflation and community transformation. A widowed farmer near Rifle, Mildred Stouman, told IN THESE TIMES, "Every time I turn around, they're building something new. They say [the growth] is good, but it hasn't helped me none."

Gilmore says he feels for these people, but believes the impacts on them must be balanced against "the social disruption caused by continued dependence on undependable supplies of foreign oil."

To mitigate inevitable environmental and social hassles, Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm has energetically opposed the crash nature of Carter's synfuel program. With other Western governors, Lamm has lobbied for a cautious approach that includes a slower, phased development of untested synfuel technology, hundreds of millions in boomtown aid and assurance the states will have a say in controlling development.

If Lamm wins this fight for states' rights, however, his success may cut both ways. His own concerns are not mirrored in Colorado's powerful and conservative legislature. For example, two years ago, legislators rubberstamped an anemic, industry-written mineral severance tax, the weakest in the West, and they have otherwise played gracious hosts to the energy companies flooding the state.

As former regional director of the Environmental Protection Agency Alan Merson puts it, "Greed has dominated the legislature. The private special interests have had such a hold over it that there has been no recognition of the need for public action to protect this place."

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Title of Publication: In These Times		10. Extent and nature of circulation:	
2. Date of filing: Sept. 12, 1979			
3. Frequency of issue: Weekly except first weeks in January and August and last weeks in July and December.		Average No. copies each issue	No. copies issue before filing date
3(a). No. of issues published annually: 48		a. Total no. copies printed	16,040 20,200
3(b). Annual subscription price: \$19.00		B. Paid circulation	
4. Location of known office of publication: 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago (Cook), Illinois 60622		1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	
5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago (Cook), Illinois 60622		2. Mail subscriptions	
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher—The Institute for Policy Studies; Editor—James Weinstein; Managing Editor—None at the moment. Address of all—1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60622.		C. Total paid circulation	
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.		D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: samples, complimentary & other free copies	
9. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have changed during preceding 12 months: The New Majority Publishing Company, Inc., a for-profit limited partnership heretofore extant, has been dissolved. The sole has been subsumed by a Washington nonprofit corporation, the Institute for Policy Studies, which intends to operate In These Times as a house organ under the name In These Times.		E. Total distribution	
		F. Copies not distributed	
		1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	
		2. Returns from news agents	
		G. Total	
		11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.	
		(signed) James Weinstein Editor	

Give yourself away.



Give an *In These Times* gift subscription to your friends this year. And let them know what you're thinking.

This year, you've got a weekly news package that's succinct, reliable and from a socialist perspective. Your friends can share that information, just as they share your concerns.

They'll get thoughtful, behind-the-scenes reports like those you read last year from Nicaragua. They'll get in-depth interviews with Barry Commoner, Isabel Letelier, Holly Near and Howard Cosell. They'll get analysis of major economic problems like David Moberg's series, "Shutdown!" And first hand news from Diana Johnstone in Paris; Wilfred Burchett in Vietnam; Jo Freeman in Washington.

Give them a gift that means something to you, too. It's easy. Just fill in the blanks below, and banish that holiday headache. But do it now—time is running out to process the subscription orders. And you don't want to tempt the holiday mails with last-minute rushes.

We'll make it even easier for you. The more you give, the cheaper it gets. Your first gift sub costs \$17.50, nearly **HALF OFF** the newsstand price. Your second sub costs only \$16.50. The third and all other subs cost only \$15.50 each.

Want to send a friend a six-month sampler? The same deal applies. \$8.75 for the first six-month sub, \$7.75 for the second and \$6.75 for the third and all others.

SAVE ON THE FIRST GIFT

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$17.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$8.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card _____

SAVE EVEN MORE ON THE SECOND GIFT

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$16.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$7.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card _____

SAVE STILL MORE ON THE THIRD GIFT (and each additional gift)

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$15.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$6.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card _____

YOUR NAME _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

☐ I enclose payment.

☐ Please bill me after January 1st.

☐ Charge my: ☐ Master Charge ☐ Visa

Account # _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

SEND TO: IN THESE TIMES, 5615 W. CERMAK RD., CICERO, IL 60650

STH2

IN THE WORLD

By Diana Johnstone

FRANCE

FRENCH LABOR UNIONS HAVE assumed the role of nuclear safety watchdog by striking to keep two new atomic power plants from going into production until the state power monopoly Electricite de France (EDF) does something about cracked piping.

On Oct. 2, personnel in the Gravelines plant near Dunkirk on the English Channel and the Tricastin plant in the Southern Rhone valley blocked a government order to fuel up the new reactors. The action jointly organized by the two major trade union confederations—CGT and CFDT—was the first time that France's galloping nuclear power program has been slowed down by popular pressure. After the CFDT disclosed the cracks in the reactors, built by Framatome for EDF on license from Westinghouse, ecological and anti-nuclear groups all demanded that EDF hold off operations. Such outside protests have previously been swept aside by riot police and soothing official reassurances to a very small majority, but this time organized labor inside the nuclear plants proved to have the clout to force EDF to pay attention.

Not that the unions are anti-nuclear. The CGT, like the French Communist Party to which it is closely linked, strongly favors nuclear development. Even the CFDT, which is spearheading a petition drive to suspend France's electronuclear program until a "democratic debate on energy" can be held, is not a priori opposed to nuclear power. (As for the third-largest confederation, the pro-capitalist Force Ouvriere, it backed EDF and refused to join with the CGT and the CFDT.)

But the labor organizations are also concerned about worker safety. Even if, as EDF insisted, the cracks were not serious to endanger the public, they would endanger the personnel that could be ordered to repair them in radiated areas if they got worse after the plants were fired up.

The CFDT called a press conference Sept. 21 to disclose that 47 cracks had been discovered in steel piping around



French police attack protestors at the super Phenix, the world's first breeder reactor.

Left unions strike for nuclear safety

They are the anti-nuclear movement's muscle, but they're not anti-nuke

the steam generator at Gravelines, that more such cracks might exist in piping not yet checked, and that similar cracks had also been spotted at the Tricastin plant. The cracks measured up to seven or eight millimeters deep on a thickness of 50 centimeters, that is, from about a quarter to a third of an inch deep on a thickness of over a foot and a half. They were apparently caused by welding of a stainless steel protective outer coating.

The government acknowledged

existence of the cracks, although Industry Minister Andre Giraud prefers to call them "scratches." Giraud also finds Three Mile Island encouraging, since, he says, safety provisions functioned so well that the plant was shut down without any casualties.

The very official Electronuclear Energy Information Council, set up to reassure the public that even if the masses know nothing a group of very important citizens is watching over

nuclear perils for them, and headed by the reassuring mother figure Simone Veil, turned out to have no information about the cracks or even about the scratches. Giraud said that was all right, there was no reason for the Information Council to be informed.

Giraud told EDF to go ahead and fuel up the reactors on Oct. 2. At this, the CFDT and CGT announced an on-the-spot strike to block fueling. A round-the-clock relay of five to ten employees from each shift in each plant was organized to see that no steps were taken by management to fuel the reactors using outside personnel. The rest of the employees stood ready to respond to any alert.

At this, EDF was obliged to stop and talk to the unions. Executives admitted that the cracks would have to be repaired eventually if they deepened, as cracks have a way of doing. But they promised that they would have developed robots to do inspection and repairs in radiated areas by the time the cracks got really dangerous, which they said would take at least about five years.

EDF is in a big hurry to get the plants into production, and thus would rather risk having to shut down the plants at greater cost later on than hold up operations for prior repairs EDF spokesmen said would take nearly a year to complete.

The Unions appear willing to settle for a compromise that involves thorough inspection of piping before production begins, in order to be able to monitor precisely further cracking once the reactor is heated up. They may also obtain power for local plant committees to decide whether health and safety conditions are acceptable.

In France, neither Three Mile Island nor the film *The China Syndrome* has yet had much visible effect on public opinion, and the anti-nuclear movement is so weak and fragmented that the organizations calling a demonstration sometimes seem almost as numerous as the participants. In the current impasse, the unions emerge as the only force able to fight effectively for the people's right to know what's going on, which is at least a first step towards a public debate and democratic control of energy technology.

Nicos Poulantzas is dead

By Diana Johnstone

NICOS POULANTZAS DIED suddenly in Paris on Oct. 3 at the age of 43. The Greek-born sociologist was one of the more prominent theoreticians who in the past decade tackled the problem of trying to pull Marx off the theoretical rock where they saw it foundering for lack of an adequate analysis of the state.

Poulantzas sought a marxist justification for the reformism practiced by the Eurocommunist and Marxist Socialist parties by trying to develop a theory of class struggle within rather than merely against the institutions of the capitalist state. He placed great hopes in the French Union of the Left. Its split and defeat was a bitter disappointment, both politically and intellectually. Blocked in practice, the questions that concerned him appeared increasingly academic, and he watched with alarm the rise of new intellectual modes threatening the whole tradition that attempts to combine moral rigor with effective political action.

Poulantzas saw the institution of the Western European state, which he had hoped would be progressively democratized by the left in office, becoming instead even more

authoritarian in the hands of a triumphant right that, to add insult to injury, appropriated anti-state verbiage. Poulantzas sought a synthesis within the left at a time when the left was flying apart, sought to build on an intellectual tradition at a moment when the fashion was to throw out the baby with the bathwater. He died with lots of questions and no clear answers. His last article, on the crisis of political parties, appeared under the heading "interrogations" in the September issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Here are excerpts:

"A new authoritarian statism is tightening its grip on the advanced capitalist countries, while the role of political parties is declining, making it easier to restrict liberties in the course of an overall transformation of the state..."

"—Through irrationalism, (the right) is mounting an offensive against Marxism and enlightenment...which ends up in instrumental rationality and the technocratic logic of experts..."

"—In the name of neoliberalism, and under cover of individual liberation, right-wing ideology is helping itself to anti-state verbiage. At the same time, the state continues to control reproduction of capital, while using the occasion provided by the economic crisis to get rid of social welfare state functions..."

Nicos Poulantzas



"—In the name of citizen security, the dominant ideology spreads talk of law and order, or the need to check 'abuses' of democratic freedoms..."

"—In the name of pseudo-scientific theories about 'biological inequality,' right-wing ideology is inspiring a renewal of racism against immigrant workers and against the Third World... blamed for the current crisis, while at the same time supporting the idea of a new world economic order and solidarity between peoples..."

"The institutional crisis first of all concerns parties that regularly take part in government, and among them, the Social Democratic parties. Their rise to power, in Germany or Great Britain, no longer amounts to a real political change. Moreover, although it is wrong to take them for simple copies of right-wing parties, citizens are unable to make a sharp choice between alternative ruling elites... Contemporary evolution tends to give rise to a sort of single party through an institutional mixing of the forces of the majority party with the main opposition party."

"As for the other Socialist and Eurocommunist parties, kept out of government, they...are further suffering from their own crisis, which affects their political strategy, ideology, identity. For the Eurocommunist parties, it means challenging the Stalinist model set by the Third International and involves the very form of the party and the type of socialism. For the Socialist parties (notably French, Spanish or Italian), it involves a questioning of social

Continued on page 18

FRANCE

Did the ex-emperor Bokassa give a big stone to Giscard?

A French paper says the country has a diamond smuggler as leader.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS
NO WONDER THE FRENCH government wouldn't let ex-Emperor Bokassa into France for his well-earned exile, and no wonder the deposed Centrafrican tyrant was furious. He could say a lot about ingratitude in high places, after all his efforts to share his country's diamonds with top French officials. But he was packed off to Ivory

Coast, and French paratroopers were spotted by French reporters in Bangui liberating the independent African country of its archives as if they were so many time bombs.

So the leak went to *Le Canard Enchaîné*, the satirical weekly whose specialization in disclosing official scandals won it the honor a few years back of having its offices bugged, just like Watergate. The Oct. 10 *Canard* reproduced the copy of an April 1973 order from President Jean Bedel Bokassa to his national diamond trading company for a 30-carat diamond gift to be presented to Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who was Finance Minister at the time and had come to Centrafrica for a safari. If Giscard failed to declare this token of remembrance to French customs, the *Canard* said, "France today has a diamond smuggler for President."

Did Giscard accept the gift? The



Photocopy of a memo saying Bokassa gave Giscard a 30-carat diamond as a gift.

Elysee Palace haughtily refused to confirm or deny. Eventually a spokesman told the French news agency AFP that "traditional exchanges of gifts, notably on the occasion of governmental visits to foreign countries, have neither the character nor value" mentioned in "certain reports." *Le Monde* and opposition newspapers found this reply so evasive as to count as a confirmation.

The Socialist Party has called for a

special commission to investigate the whole sorry story of French intervention in Centrafrica. But since the left is in a minority, it could not easily prevent the right-wing majority from turning the investigation into a whitewash—unless the neo-Gaullist RPR (Rally for the Republic) wing of the majority decided to try to use the scandal to knock Giscard out of the 1981 Presidential election in hope of electing its own candidate. But this would be a very risky game, which could instead favor the candidacy of Socialist Francois Mitterrand.

The Gaullists seemed to be content to leak accounts of their past virtue in office, to contrast with Giscardian mores. Not only De Gaulle himself, but his leading "barons" such as Michel Debre and Maurice Couve de Murville starred in edifying anecdotes of carved ivory or jeweled trinkets politely but firmly refused. Such behavior reflects a civil servant ethics that seems a little old fashioned compared to Giscard's more princely enjoyment of high office. Whether or not he received his first gifts of elephant tusks and carved ivory from Bokassa on his safari trip to Centrafrica in 1967, as well as glittering keepsakes to go with his hunting trophies on each of his five visits since 1973, as the *Canard* alleged, Giscard belongs to a family whose longstanding major business interests in Africa may give it a more adventurous ethical approach to the continent. A Giscard may feel sincerely that he would not betray his own interests for a few gems or elephant tusks, and his own interests coincide with the government he heads, so why all the fuss?

There is a general feeling in France that Watergate could never happen here—if only because the more compact ruling class hangs together in the face of a potentially rebellious working class and finds ways to keep its dirty laundry from being washed in the public press. Pro-government mass circulation newspapers were scandalized, not by the alleged transfer of wealth from one of Africa's poorest countries to some of France's richest officials, but rather by the impropriety of making such an allegation. Aside from conservative opinion, which is shocked by disrespect for high office, there is also in France a popular cynicism nourished by the "vulgar Marxist" identification of capitalism with simple personal greed that helps douse the flames of righteous indignation before they can spread.

Just to be on the safe side, government-controlled television and the AFP, where the government has been strengthening its influence, played down the Bokassa diamond story, arousing protests from Channel 2 and AFP journalists. The news managers' contention that the story was not newsworthy was belied by the big play it got in neighboring European countries, whose press viewed the scandal as a potential threat to Giscard's apparently firm grip on power. Most of France is not likely to see itself as reflected in its neighbors' media.

FOR A REVITALIZED LEFT IN THE 80's

THIS SYMBOL & THIS BOOKLET



MAY WELL MEAN
WHAT THIS SYMBOL



and HERBERT MARCUSE'S
"ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN"
MEANT FOR THE 60's

THE SECTARIAN LEFT WILL SCREAM; RIGHT WINGERS WILL RANT AND RAVE
BUT THIS SHORT ESSAY POINTS THE ROAD TO THE WINNING OF A
MAJORITY OF AMERICANS FOR TRANSFORMATION OF OUR SOCIETY!

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW - Send \$1 and 28cents postage to: Tel. (312)
NEW PATRIOT ALLIANCE, Room 305, 343 South Dearborn Chicago, Illinois 60604 663-1664



Wall Street on Black Thursday, Oct. 24, 1929, the day of the most devastating financial collapse in U.S. history.

THE GREAT CRASH THEN & NOW

By John Judis

THE AMERICAN STOCK MARKET has been falling since 1973, when the Dow-Jones average of leading stocks peaked at 1051. After the Federal Reserve announced this month that it was tightening the discount rate to a record 12 percent the decline accelerated.

The market's decline, along with the prospect of a new recession, has raised the spectre of the Crash of 1929, which helped usher in a ten-year depression. Some analysts have even blamed the memory of the 1929 Crash for the market's current woes. "It is not helping that people are reading stories on the 50th anniversary of the U.S. stock market crash," one Chicago broker complained.

But most American economists do not foresee either a new stock market crash or a depression. They are quick to cite the creation in the 1930s of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which, along with the Federal Reserve, have been given the power to curb speculation and prevent bank runs.

"I don't see three or four or five years of grass growing on Main Street, or debt deflation, or cascading dominoes of bankruptcies," Keynesian Paul Sam-

uelson told the *Wall Street Journal*. "I don't see the dice loaded in that direction."

His monetarist counterpart Milton Friedman agreed. "I think it's very unlikely to happen again," he said.

But this debate on the Crash and the Depression may be missing the point. Nineteenth century panics and depressions were usually set off by bad harvests rather than falling stock prices. And current economists are undoubtedly correct that neither a stock market collapse nor a series of domestic bank runs will spark a new depression. But the underlying problems that created both the Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression still exist and could bring a depression in the 1980s.

Speculative orgy.

The 1920s were a time of tremendous industrial growth in the U.S. From 1919 to 1929, the output per worker increased 43 percent. Led by auto and electric power, manufacturing output rose almost 65 percent. But beginning with the Florida land boom of 1925-29, capitalists and small-businessmen embarked on a veritable orgy of speculation, which was to culminate in the 1929 crash.

Measured by the Dow-Jones index, stocks were at 191 in early 1928 and at

381 by Sept. 1929. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA) went from 85 1/4 in 1928 to 549 in 1929. Westinghouse went from 91 5/8 to 313.

This burst of stock speculation did not correspond to a spectacular burst of industrial production. If anything, industrial production began to slacken in 1926. Instead of using their profits to invest in expanded output, businesses used them to make high interest loans to stock speculators.

In his study of the 1920s, *Prosperity Decade*, economist George Soule remarks on this: "A curious commentary on the state of the American economy at the time is the fact that business could make less money by using its surplus funds in production than it could by lending the money to purchasers of stock, the value of which was supposed to be determined by the profit on that production."

By Sept. 3, 1929, when the market peaked, stock values wildly exceeded the real value of corporate assets, and the ratio between stock prices and dividends was so high that it discouraged stock purchases for any purpose other than speculation. In retrospect, a crash was inevitable.

The crash was precipitated by a series of relatively innocuous events—the exposure of a British promotor, a dire warning from a respected stock market consultant, the rejection of a utility's bid to split its stock offering. By November, the *New York Times* index of 25 leading stocks had fallen from 452 on Sept. 3 to 224. By 1932, it had fallen to 58, and the Dow had fallen to 41.22.

The collapse of the stock market had a sharp effect on real investment, which dropped precipitously in late 1929. By 1933, when Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, industrial production had dropped 50 percent in four years, 9000 banks had failed, and unemployment had risen from 3.2 percent to 25 percent.

The Depression ended only in 1940, when British war orders stimulated American industry. In 1939, unemployment was still at 17 percent, and industrial output was less than it had been in 1929.

Industrial stagnation.

The stock market crash precipitated the Depression, but did not sustain it. Nor was it the single most important cause of the Depression. It bears a similar causal relation to the Depression as World War I did to the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

The Crash and Depression were products of an important change in American capitalism after World War I. Prior to the war, the growth of producer goods and raw materials industries—iron and steel, machinery, lumber, mining—had absorbed an increasing number of American workers. After World War I, these industries were afflicted with war-created excess capacity. They were also affected with a peculiar capitalist illness: the ability to combine an increase in their output with a decrease in the total industrial labor force.

During the 1920s, in spite of a rise in output, there was a 10 percent decline in employment among producer goods and raw material industries. Overall, there was no net increase in manufacturing jobs during the 1920s.

At the same time, wages and prices remained fairly constant during the 1920s. They did not keep up with productivity increases, and there was a redistribution of income upwards, with the top 5 percent in income earning 24.3 percent of total income in 1919 and 33.3 percent in 1929.

With wages and prices constant and employment shrinking in the producer goods sector, the growing consumer goods industries, initially fed by the pent-up demand created by the war, faced insufficient demand for their products. By 1926, key sectors of the economy—agriculture and home construction—were beginning to decline. Only the expanded use of consumer credit kept the automobile industry from cutting production until 1929. As it is, the auto industry, which had expanded 24 percent in 1923 and 10 percent in

Continued on next page.

IN THESE TIMES OCTOBER 24-30, 1979 11

The N

ws That's
rint."

5,206.

PRICES OF STOCKS CRASH IN HEAVY LIQUIDATION, TOTAL DROP OF BILLIONS

PAPER LOSS \$4,000,000,000

**2,600,000 Shares Sold
in the Final Hour in
Record Decline.**

MANY ACCOUNTS WIPED OUT

**But No Brokerage House Is in
Difficulties, as Margins Have
Been Kept High.**

ORGANIZED RACKING ABSENT

**Bankers Confer on Steps to
Support Market—Highest
Break Is 96 Points.**

**COALITION BREAKS
OVER CARBIDE RATE**

**13 Democrats 3 Republicans,
Desert as Senate Rejects, 42
to 37, Halving of Cent Duty.**

**Thyroid Determines if a Man
Should Be Fitter, Says Dr. Asher**

Special in The New York Times
BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 24.—
Upon perfect thyroid condition de-
pends an airplane pilot's effi-
ciency, declared Dr. Leon Asher,
Professor of Pathology at the
University of Illinois, in an ad-
dress last evening before the
Biological Society School of Medi-
cine of Maryland University.
Persons with a hyper-thyroid ac-
tivation have no place in aviation,
he continued.
Dr. Asher said he found in ex-
periments that animals with more
than the normal thyroid secretion
require an excessive amount of
oxygen, and are not able to en-
dure an strenuous phase of life as
normal subjects are. In fact, he
said, the thyroid gland is a very im-
portant organ in the body.

Andrew Mellon (below), Secretary of the Treasury under President Herbert Hoover, and one of the richest men in the U.S., wanted the government to keep hands off and to let the slump liquidate itself. "Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers," was his motto.



Times.

THE WEATHER
Rain today and probably tomorrow;
mild and clear tomorrow.

TWO CENTS

**STOCK PRICES SLUMP \$14,000,000,000
IN NATION-WIDE STAMPEDE TO UNLOAD;
BANKERS TO SUPPORT MARKET TODAY**

Sixteen Leading Issues Down \$2,893,520,108;
Tel. & Tel. and Steel Among Heaviest Losers

A shakedown of \$14,000,000,000 in the open market value of the shares of sixteen representative companies resulted from yesterday's sweeping decline on the New York Stock Exchange. American Telephone and Telegraph was the heaviest loser, \$448,305,162 having been lopped off its initial value. United States Steel common, traditional bellwether of the stock market, made its greatest decline in recent years by falling from a high of 20 1/2 to a low of 18 1/2. In a double last-minute rally it snapped back to 19 1/2, at which it closed, showing a net loss of 1 1/2 points. This represented for the \$121,000 shares of common stock outstanding a total loss in value of \$14,229,341.60.

In the following table are shown the daily net depreciation in the outstanding shares of the sixteen companies referred to:

Company	Market Capital	Loss	Market Capital	Loss
American Radiator	\$1,024,289	100	400,748,987	100
American Tel. & Tel.	12,702,000	24	448,305,162	24
Commonwealth & Southern	20,766,148	24	80,128,807	24
Columbia Gas & Electric	4,477,201	22	136,700,724	22
Cummins Diesel	11,421,188	20	220,083,769	20
Dupont, E. I.	10,232,691	18 1/2	199,000,000	18 1/2
Eastman Kodak	2,278,000	4 1/2	62,348,819	4 1/2
General Electric	2,211,684	4 1/2	160,240,000	4 1/2
General Motors	42,000,000	4 1/2	22,437,000	4 1/2
International Nickel	12,707,000	3 1/2	146,697,000	3 1/2
New York Central	4,877,846	2 1/2	100,831,000	2 1/2
Standard Oil of New Jersey	24,829,684	4	180,749,141	4
Trans. Canada & Carbon	8,109,155	20	179,219,000	20
United States Steel	121,000,000	1 1/2	171,865,400	1 1/2
United-Tra. Improvement	14,845,620	8	111,441,010	8
Washington Post & News	2,240,200	24 1/2	14,647,200	24 1/2

The stocks included in the foregoing table are 100 shares, but include only a few of the "blue chips" that fell sharply. Some of the medium-sized stocks were swept down almost as sharply as the "big stocks." The loss in open market value by General Motors, for instance, was greater than that of some of the higher priced issues such as Steel, Consolidated Gas and New York Central.

For some of the market's trading favorites yesterday was the most disastrous day since they were admitted to trading.

PREMIER ISSUES HARD HIT

Unexpected Torrent of Liquidation Again Rocks Markets

DAY'S SALES 9,212,800

Nearly 3,000,000 Shares Are Traded in Final Hour—The Tickers Lag 167 Minutes

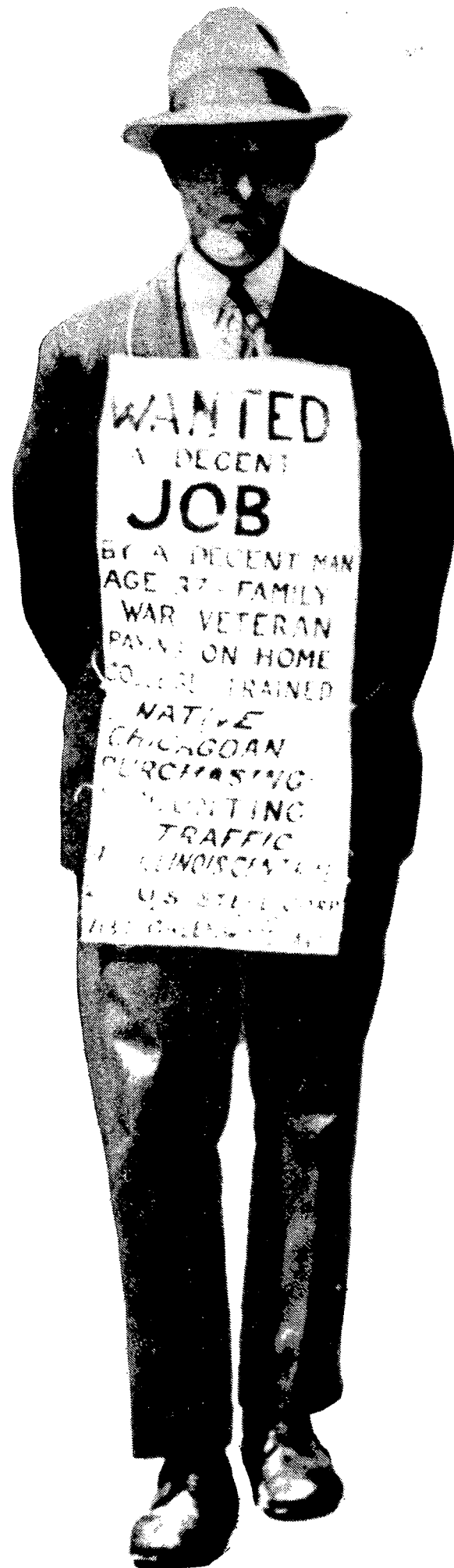
NEW RALLY SOON BROKEN

Selling by Europeans and "Mob Psychology" Big Factors in Second Big Break

The second half-hour of trading today, which began at 1:30 p.m., was a continuation of the selling that had begun at 11:30 a.m. and had been interrupted only by a brief rally at 12:30 p.m. The selling was particularly heavy in the last hour of trading, when the market lost 167 minutes of time. The selling was particularly heavy in the last hour of trading, when the market lost 167 minutes of time.

AIRLINER IS LOST BANKERS MOBILIZE

A long-unemployed man advertizes himself in desperation on the streets of Chicago in 1932. Scenes like this were commonplace during the Depression.



Continued from previous page.

1926, expanded only 5 percent a year from 1927 to 1929.

This meant that as of 1926-27, capitalists had rising incomes, but a lack of investment outlets for that income. As a result, they began to invest their funds in stock speculation rather than in industrial growth. In this way, the post-war stagnation and the job decline in the producer goods industries laid the foundations for both the stock market crash and the depression.

Marxist economist Sidney Coontz summarized this process in a little-known study, *Effective Demand and Productive Labor*: "Excess capacity in the capital goods sector, an outgrowth of militarism, is characteristic of the prosperous '20s. A war-generated backlog of consumer demand coupled with large investments in the production of consumer durable goods were the sustaining forces. But stagnation in the capital goods industry, the displacement of labor in this sector, meant that worker and entrepreneurial consumption expenditures failed to rise *pari passu* with investment in the consumer sector. It was this disproportionality that generated the Great Depression."

In a 1969 essay in *Radical America*, Martin J. Sklar termed the process by which the expansion of output is accompanied by a net decline in labor the "disaccumulation of capital." For Coontz and Sklar, it is the enduring problem of advanced capitalist economies. It made recovery from the Crash impossible—at least within the framework of accepted capitalist policy. Only with government intervention to create employment in the capital goods sector and to subsidize investment can the advanced capitalist economy—and then only temporarily—the consequences of disaccumulation.

World disorder.

An additional factor underlay the Crash and Depression: the disintegration of the world capitalist order in the aftermath of World War I. This process of disintegration limited American investment and export options before 1929, and as the depression became worldwide, made recovery impossible.

Prior to World War I, Great Britain had been the leading capitalist country. Its currency had been the world's currency, and its capital exports and loans had sustained world trade. World War I destroyed British supremacy. And it embroiled the Western capitalist countries in a vicious circle of war debts and reparations that impeded their recovery. The lack of an accepted world currency encouraged countries to erect tariffs in order to prevent other countries from dumping devalued goods on their doorstep. These tariffs restricted world trade. And the cycle of debts, which led from Germany to France and Great Britain to the U.S., made it difficult for Germany, Britain and France to gain the currency necessary to buy U.S. or other goods.

In the mid-1920s, France, Britain and the U.S. tried a solution. The 1924 Dawes Plan limited German reparations and made it possible for American bankers to contemplate loans for Germany to recover. And in 1925 Britain attempted to peg its falling currency to pre-World War I gold standards so as to re-establish the pound sterling as the world currency.

Both attempts failed. The British attempt to maintain their currency priced their goods out of the world market, and British gold began to depart for the U.S. and France. In order to stem the gold outflow, the British convinced American bankers to lower American interest rates. This only fueled the subsequent stock speculation of the late '20s and encouraged further drains on British gold.

By 1928, with both Western Europe and the developing world beginning to look shaky and with riper prospects at home, American bankers curtailed their overseas loans. As a result, foreign countries no longer possessed the currency to pay for American exports or to service their growing national debt.

By 1929, with the gold standard imperiled and trade threatened, governments began erecting new tariffs against foreign imports. From 1929 to 1933,

world trade shrank from \$348 billion to \$132 billion, and the world's capitalist countries plunged into a mutual depression.

Like the problems of disaccumulation—capitalism the problems of world capitalist disorder were only "solved" by World War II, which created militant alliances between trading partners.

New pseudo-solutions.

Because of New Deal reforms, post-World War II American policy-makers did not have to fear a stock market crash or a run on American banks—at least at the start of a depression. They did have to fear innate tendencies toward industrial stagnation and the prospect of new trade wars. Both consciously and inadvertently, they devised a set of solutions to these problems:

•Through state intervention, they created new outlets for expansion and investment, particularly by means of arms spending. These new state investments helped sustain the capital goods sector. Without them, as studies by Michal Kalecki, Paul Sweezy, Paul Baran, and Harry Magdoff have shown, American unemployment would have returned to 1930s levels.

•They created a new world economic order dominated by the American dollar and by American loans and capital exports. Massive overseas loans and capital exports in the late '40s and in the '50s helped sustain American industry, revive foreign industry, and give foreign consumers the currency to purchase American goods.

•They acquiesced in a national industrial order in which labor was recognized as a junior partner, workers were led to expect a rising standard of living, and corporations were permitted to raise their prices collectively in order to defray cost increases.

These American policies fuelled a new era of world capitalist expansion. But by the early '70s, the expansion was beginning to halt, and the new American-dominated world order was beginning to disintegrate. A rebuilt Western Europe and Japan were threatening American industrial supremacy. Oil-producing nations, emboldened by the Vietnamese and with the quiet cooperation of the "Seven Sisters," were forcing up oil prices. Rising oil prices, along with growing federal budget deficits, were accelerating existing tendencies toward inflation. And faced with a declining American trade balance, foreign bankers were becoming unwilling to hold unlimited amounts of American dollars.

By 1979, the U.S. has begun to encounter some of the old problems of the 1920s: capital goods industries are faced with excess capacity and declining employment opportunities, trade relations among the major capitalist powers have deteriorated, and spiralling inflation has threatened the dollar's role as the international currency. Even during the so-called recovery from the 1974-75 recession, investment slackened in important producer and consumer goods industries. And major corporations were left with surplus capital that could find no productive outlet.

In the late 1920s, this capital was directed toward stock speculation. But in the late 1970s, it, along with the billions in petrodollars that have been flowing back into American banks, has been directed at real estate, needy but possibly insolvent Third World countries, corporate mergers, diamonds, fine art, and gold.

If there is a crash in the 1980s, it might come from a major Third World country like Brazil or Zaire defaulting on its bank loans; or it might come from speculative pressures on the dollar. Such a crash could then usher in a depression of the '80s.

There are, therefore, essential similarities between 1929 and 1979. The differences—inflation rather than deflation, gold and real estate rather than stocks—remain differences in form not substance. If there is a key difference that might preclude a return to the '30s, it can only be the greater determination of major Western capitalists to avoid an event that would surely result in their demise. This determination un-

derlay the founding of the Tr Commission in 1973, which together leaders from Western E the U.S. and Canada and Commission's goal has been to di through co-operative measure means to prevent either depre revolution.

Its success and the success of capitalist summits will depend fin the ability of corporate leaders over a potentially hostile citizenr stand to suffer from their solution to prevent restive population regimes in the Third World sabotaging or abandoning the capitalist order.

Heilbro about

WITH BC osophe and Inc ert Ho

the most literate econom cate of views on the la and Crash, Heilbroner talist economies and th at the 50th anniversary Depression of the '30 about the possibilities for capitalist societies.

A lot of economists think tht c have learned from the exp Great Depression how to p crashes in the future. Beyond Boom and Crash, share that confidence. What think were the consequences Depression for capitalist ec especially the U.S.? To what e. you think that, despite such ments, a crash is possible today?

I do think that capitalist gove have learned how to prevent deep, cumulative, dragging dep Crises come and go, and we see just as crisis-prone today as then, but there's a big differe tween a crash provoked by th market or some turn in intern fairs and a real depression.

We've had as severe stock crashes in the last couple of ye had in the Great Depression. Th a five or ten week period just t wrote that last book when the fell off a larger percentage in a f than ever before in history, e Great Crash. And the New Yor had an editorial the other day ab the real value of stocks has faller about 50 percent, which is just a crash of a kind.

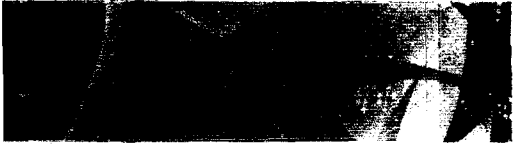
The oil shock had a terrific i Imagine what would have happe the 1870s if the price of co quadrupled in one year. Crises cc crashes come, but what doesn't a great dragging, sagging depre —because there is this large, i government prop.

So the level and stability of spending prevents these cr sliding too deep?

Suppose there had been the f increase in the price of coal in the What would have happened? F of inflation? Hell, no. The ste would have shut down right and would have triggered a depre in our time, you don't get a de you get a big boost to inflation. the basic reason is that we have floors in the economy that we have then.

It is not clear whether the corporate leaders will succeed—or even what will finally be required for success. Will new state controls on both capital and labor be necessary? Will the American steel industry have to be moved to South Korea? Will a rebellious Mexico have to be subdued? Will Eurocommunism have to be defeated? Will the International Monetary Fund have to be empowered with Western armies at its behest? Will the Saudi oil fields have to be occupied?

Jimmy Carter's failure to win over even the comparably docile American population to Trilateral austerity measures on energy and the dollar is not a promising sign for Western capitalists. ■



er talks pressions

is Moberg

MUCH AS THE WORLDLY PHIL-
the Making of Economic Society
into the Human Prospect, Robert
Heilbroner has established himself as one of
the U.S. and a prominent advo-
his latest book, *Beyond Boom*
issues the current crises of capi-
pects for resolving them. Now
Crash that issued in the Great
THESE TIMES talked with him
other crash and the directions

So runaway inflation is the price borne for not sliding into deep depression?

That's exactly right. The mechanisms are very complicated, and so are the mechanisms of depression, and the possible triggers for inflation are numerous, just as many things can start off a depression. But the condition of inflation is what I've called "governmental capitalism," a capitalism that is no longer capable of collapsing as it did in the '30s. I wrote somewhere that we gave up bottomless depression and instead got topless inflation.

A lot of people see the current inflation as a crisis of its own sort. Do you think that's true? Is there any way of controlling the consequence of controlling depression?

In both inflation and depression there are mechanisms—psychological mechanisms—that help prolong and deepen the condition. In depression that's called "confidence." In the 1930s, lack of confidence bred the kind of action that perpetuated the depression.

The analog in inflationary times is "expectations." People expect that next year prices will be significantly higher so they undertake a whole variety of actions that help insure that prices will be 10 percent higher. In the old days, the prevailing belief among households and businesses alike was that what goes up must come down. That's not the conventional wisdom today. It's that if it's going up today it must be going up more tomorrow. These expectations help generate the inflationary situation.

What can be done about these feelings of expectation that play a part in inflation? Attempts to influence psychology don't seem to work very well?

I would say that there are really only two ways of stopping inflation. One way is if you really tighten the money supply, if you really put the economy into a deflation, then you'll stop inflation. The other way is to undertake some kind of measure that will turn down expectations, that will get people not to anticipate 10 or 20 percent more. There



Steve Kagan

are a whole roster of measures aimed at expectations and most are not effective. I don't think that depression is an acceptable way of stopping inflation. I think that we'll use another strong and coercive means, and that will be wage and price controls. For all the difficulties that they'll bring, it is probably the single most effective policy the government can undertake to change expectations.

Do you think the current high rate of inflation—and the fears and uncertainties that go with it—could precipitate a major crisis, or do you think the cause will be something like the environmental problems you mention in your book?

I think we're living through a period in which many forces are working on us. One of them is the continuous battle to bring inflation under control. There's always the risk that inflation will run away, and then there will be hell to pay. While we continuously fight this battle more deep-seated, structural problems bob up. One of them is the energy issue. Another is the environmental problem.

In some sense the environmental problems seem outside of capitalism as a social and economic system. Some might argue that we face not so much a crisis of capitalism as one of growth or industrialism.

What's capitalist about them is the degree to which our ability to respond to these problems is helped or hindered by our having a capitalist market system and private property.

There's a lot of difference between capitalist market economies. The U.S., because of its government structure, is very slow and bad at reformulating national policies to take account of environmental problems. Other capitalist economies are much quicker and more flexible. Sweden, for example, is much better at formulating an energy policy or Japan at re-allocating its industrial resources. That's where capitalism and the nation-state come together in a very important way. The nation-state qualifies and modifies what capitalism can do. There are always certain problems of private property that have to be taken into consideration, and the marketplace has its strong forces, but I don't think it's possible just to talk about capitalism with a capital "C."

In your book, you point to central planning as either the likely outcome or desirable outcome of the current series of crises.

All capitalisms, without exception, are being driven toward planning by the same forces—the environment, the extremely dangerous nature of much technology, the demands of their publics for more control over their lives. They're all moving into controlling their economies, but not a Russian-style Gosplan. There is not a capitalist nation that does not have an enormous and ex-

panding welfare sector, which is planning. There is not one without an energy policy or trying to get one. Ditto transportation policy, urban policy and of course, monetary policy. And policy is just a polite word for planning. Fifty years ago there was not this emphasis on policy, or planning.

Some businessmen would see "governmental capitalism" as a code word for socialism, and most people on the left would see that as a long way from it. What do you think is the relation between "governmental capitalism" and democratic socialism.

I no longer know very clearly what is meant by socialism. I come more and more to think that socialism is the next stage of capitalism. What we think of as socialism is what I've recently begun to call "socialistic capitalism" or "bourgeois socialism." I don't know yet what lies beyond that. Sweden is a good example of bourgeois socialism or socialistic capitalism. I don't know what lies beyond that, but I don't think that beyond the border of Sweden lies the Soviet Union. They're different directions entirely.

It is often argued that the shake-out of recession, hard as it may be, is necessary to get the economy moving again. Can those supposedly "curative" functions be achieved in some other way?

That's our hope, but we don't know. I suspect that if we move to new controls, such as wage-price controls, we will move into a new setting and there will be new endemic problems, such as bureaucracy and efficiency.

In light of the changes you see occurring in capitalist societies, how do you account for the rising chorus against government intervention and for a return to a pure market economy?

In light of the enormous triumph of science, how do you account for the fantastic success of the Pope over here? There's an enormously popular idea behind this getting rid of the government: there is this great, wonderfully active, healthy economy that just got snarled up and we need to cut the ropes to let it free. There's enormous dissatisfaction with inflation and blame focuses on the government, but the government is not responsible for these problems. In the Great Depression the hostility focused on big business.

In Beyond Boom and Crash, you suggest that we may be at one of those great turning points in the economy, at the end of a long wave of development, that is often marked by a severe panic or crisis. But there doesn't seem to be the same sort of marker for this turning point. What do you think it will look like?

I'm just guessing that it will continue more or less in the future as it has in the past five years—continuous and mounting concern with inflation, continuous and mounting concern with energy and

the environment, continuous and mounting concern with unemployment. None will produce an absolute sense of disaster, but all give rise to a lot of anxiety that the economy is not under good control, as it is not. This may lead to a sense that more radical things must be tried.

One is a "Proposition 13" thing, but I don't think that's imaginable. The result would be an instant recession of such magnitude that we would be right back where we started from, only more so. The other would be wage-price controls coupled with the necessary tax policies. It is certainly imaginable that within five years we will take that step. But another revolution in Iran, Mexico or Saudi Arabia would knock the situation out of whack. Another nuclear blow-up [like Three Mile Island] would have tremendous effect.

Wage-price controls would not constitute the kind of planned capitalism that you see as the next stage?

The very fact that we would make such a radical break with the past would probably accelerate other more coercive practices, and we definitely need something in energy and other areas.

Many feel that a move to such planning by our government would be planning on behalf of the big corporations, and would involve a loss of real wages as it did under Nixon's wage controls.

That's entirely understandable. It's certain that any kind of planning is going to become the battleground for the class struggle. That's not a criticism of planning, but a recognition of its political nature.

It would seem that the lesson for the labor movement is that it would have to become much more political.

Absolutely. ■



Robert Heilbroner.



They ended up in nursing homes

By Studs Terkel

IT'S EARLY AFTERNOON. THE STOCK MARKET HAS called it a day. The middle aged gray men are fewer in number than they were last week or last month. There are more youngish gray men now. It's hard to tell the difference. They march in like manner toward the commuter special. It takes them home, same time, same seat, same station. Winnetka. Hubbard Woods. Lake Forest.

It is not a frolicsome parade. Their faces are as stern as a maiden aunt's. More of a Sunday morning mandatory, no nonsense walk toward the Episcopal church. Under each arm, neatly folded, is a Wall Street Journal. It is opened with a snap. No nonsense here, either. William (call me Bill) Simon's book of advice to America is a big seller in these parts. Though no longer a cabinet member, he is highly respected out this way. He's a no nonsense man, too.

If Merrill Lynch is bullish on America, why do these boys look as though bears are nipping at their asses? While E.P. Hutton talks, everybody listens. But do they really believe what they hear? On that commuter special their noses are buried deep in Bill Simon. Are they really like the Bourbons who learned everything and remembered nothing? Something *did* happen 50 years ago. Or did it?

While working on *Hard Times*, I visited a couple of Wall Street's wise men. Could you explain the Crash of '29? Each looked heavenward. Max Planck's Quantum Theory would, I'm sure, have been an easier challenge. They shook their head dolorously. At length, they "explained."



Sidney J. Weinberg was senior partner at Goldman-Sachs, a leading investment house. He had served during Roosevelt's first two administrations as industrial advisor. He was also called upon by Truman and LBJ.

SIDNEY J. WEINBERG: OCTOBER 29, 1929—I remember that day very intimately. I stayed in the office a week without going home. The tape was running, I've forgotten how long that night. It must have been ten, eleven o'clock before we got the final reports. It was like a thunder clap. Everybody was stunned. Nobody knew what it was all about. The Street had general confusion. They didn't understand it any more than anybody else. They thought something would be announced.

Prominent people were making

statements. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., announced on the steps of J.P. Morgan, I think, that he and his sons were buying common stock. Immediately, the market went down again. Pools combined to support the market, to no avail. The public got scared and sold. It was a very trying period for me. Our investment company went up to two, three hundred, and then went down to practically nothing. As all investment companies did.

Over-speculation was the cause, a reckless disregard of economics. There was a group ruthlessly selling short. You could sell anything and depress the market unduly. The more you depressed it, the more you created panic. Today we have protections against it.

No one was so sage that he saw this thing coming. You can be a Sunday morning quarterback. A lot of people have said afterwards, "I saw it coming, I sold all my securities." There's a

credibility gap there. There are always some people who are conservative, who did sell out. I didn't know any of these.

I don't know anybody that jumped out of the window. But I know many who threatened to jump. They ended up in nursing homes and insane asylums and things like that. These were people who were trading in the market or in banking houses. They broke down physically, as well as financially.

Roosevelt saved the system. It's trite to say the system would have gone out the window. But certainly a lot of institutions would have changed. We were on the verge of something. You could have had a rebellion; you could have had a civil war.

The Street was against Roosevelt. Only me and Joe Kennedy, of those I know, were for Roosevelt in 1932. I was Assistant Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee.

Confidence ended the Depression in 1934. We had a recession in 1937. People got a little too gay on the way up, and you had to have a little leveling off. The war had a great deal of stimulus in 1939.

A Depression could not happen again, not to the extent of the one in '29. Unless inflation went out of hand and values went beyond true worth.

Most of the net worth of people today is in values. They haven't got it in cash. In a panic, values go down regardless of worth. A house worth \$30,000, the minute you have a panic, isn't worth anything. Everybody feels good because the stock they bought at fifty is now selling at eighty. So they have a good feeling. But it's all on paper.



Arthur A. Robertson remembered, too. His offices were on the upper floor of a New York skyscraper. On the walls were autographed portraits of our leaders. A photograph of President Johnson was inscribed: "To my friend, a patriot who serves his country." Another, of Hubert Humphrey—"To my friend, Arthur Robertson, with all my good wishes." Also, a portrait of Eisenhower: "To my friend, Arthur Robertson." There are other mementoes of appreciation from Americans in high places.

ARTHUR A. ROBERTSON: Today, if you want to buy \$100 worth of stock, you have to put up \$80 and the broker will put up \$20. In those days, you could put up \$8 or \$10. That was really responsible for the collapse. The slightest shake-up caused calamity because people didn't have the money required to cover the other \$90 or so. There were not the controls you have today. They just sold you out: an unwilling seller to an unwilling buyer.

A cigar stock at the time was selling for \$115 a share. The market collapsed. I got a call from the company president.

Could I loan him \$200 million? I refused, because at the time I had to protect my own fences, including those of my closest friends. His \$115 stock dropped to \$2 and he jumped out of the window of his Wall Street office.

There was a man who headed a company that had \$17 million in cash. He was one of the leaders of his industry and controlled three or four situations that are today household words. When his stock began to drop, he began to protect it. When he came out of the second drop, the man was completely wiped out. He owed three banks a million dollars each.

The banks were in the same position, except that the government came to their aid and saved them. Suddenly they became holier than thou, and took over the businesses of the companies that owed them money. They discharged the experts, who had built the businesses, and put in their own men. I bought one of these companies from the banks. They sold it to me in order to stop their losses.

The worst day-to-day operators of businesses are bankers. They are great when it comes to scrutinizing a balance sheet. By training they're conservative, because they're loaning you other people's money. Consequently, they do not take the calculated risks operating businesses requires. They were losing so much money that they were tickled to get it off their backs. I recently sold it for \$2 million. I bought it in 1933 for \$33,000.

October 29, 1929, yeah. A frenzy. I must have gotten calls from a dozen and a half friends who were desperate. In each case, there was no sense in loaning them the money that they would give the broker. Tomorrow they'd be worse off than yesterday. Suicides, left and right, made a terrific impression on me, of course. People I knew. It was heart-breaking.

Many brokers did not lose money. They made fortunes on commissions while their customers went broke. The only brokers that got hurt badly were those that gambled on their own—or failed to sell out in time customers' accounts that were underwater. Of course, the brokerage business fell off badly, and practically all pulled in their belts, closed down offices and threw people out of work.



A psychiatrist. He had studied with Freud, and has been practicing since the Twenties.

DR. DAVID J. ROSSMAN: Millionaires would come to me for treatment of anxiety attacks. In 1933, one of them said to me, "I'm here for treatment because I have lost all my money. All I have left is one house on Long Island which is worth \$750,000. I don't know what I'd get for it if I tried to sell it." He was a very aristocratic looking man. "I've always had a feeling of guilt about the money I've made."

I asked him, "Why do you feel guilty about it?" He said he was a floor trader and when he saw the market begin to fall, he would give it a big shove by selling short. At the end of the day, he had made \$50-\$75,000. This went on for a long time. He said, "I had always felt as if I had taken this money out of the mouths of orphans and widows."

He felt guilty after the walls caved in. He began to feel what it was like not to have any money. To give you an idea of the importance of this man: he was in a secret meeting at the J.P. Morgan bank, when they were trying to stop the decline. He had an appointment at five o'clock, and he said, "I won't be here today. But when I see you later, I'll have an important message for you."

If I had bought General Motors and Chrysler where it was in March, 1933, I could have been a multi-millionaire on the investment of \$10,000. But that wasn't his message. He said, "We have decided to close the Bank of the United States because the president was truculent and insisted upon an enormously inflated price for his stock." This was a very small bank in New York. They decided to let him go to the wall. The bank failed.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

AMANDLA CONCERT

WE WERE TAKEN BY SURPRISE BY *ITT*'s article on the Southern Africa Concert we helped stage last summer in Boston (*ITT*, Sept. 26). There is much more to be said than appeared in your piece, excerpted from a similar article in *Dollars & Sense*.

To start with, benefit concerts are not all dollars and cents. It was interesting that the establishment press (Boston's four major newspapers) gave the concert rave reviews for its great music and an unusual display of racial harmony in a racially divided city, while left-of-center journals headlined its financial difficulties.

The primary feature of benefit concerts is not the money they make or don't make, but the fusion of music and politics to advance the struggle for radical change. The greatest political effects of a benefit concert comes in the process of its production and the event itself. While we give lip service to the importance of culture in our movement, we all get caught up in the thrill of making money or disappointment if the big bucks evaporate in the formidable costs of concert production.

Our mistake from the beginning was billing the event as a large benefit and talking about netting \$100,000 for the cause. *ITT*'s mistake may be in overemphasizing the unreal financial aspirations.

Unrealistic financial projections aside, the concert was great! A peaceful and spirited crowd of 15,000 of all races enjoyed six hours of dynamite music and for Boston, unprecedented racial unity. A volunteer force of 500 (more than attend most left events around town) was assembled for the day, including a 225 person, multi-racial "peoples security" force, which has continued to meet and do security since July. And, in the process of producing an outdoor political event of such enormity, contacts and connections were made that will last far beyond the concert itself.

What we do know, or strongly believe, is that music and politics make a powerful mix. Concerts, musical "benefits," outdoor festivals and the like are well worth their while for the left.

Anyway, the message is more in the music than the money. The potential impact lies more in the event than any money to be raised.

—Amandla Collective
Boston, MA

Editor's note: We agree that turning a profit isn't everything. Indeed, *IN THESE TIMES* was not founded to make money, but to give news and politics in order to advance the development of a popular movement for socialism in the U.S. We've often made this argument to potential supporters, and we're glad to see the idea catching on.

MALE BACKLASH

ROBERTA LYNN'S SEXE REVEALATION of the current status of the feminist movement (*ITT*, Oct. 3) is revealing as far as it goes. However, in her attempt to show that men are "retreating" from the movement's goals, she glosses over the underlying reasons why feminist goals have not been

welcomed with open arms by the opposite gender.

Lynch complains, and with some justification, that men have drawn back from the movement out of anger over being asked to change their own lives to accommodate the new aspirations and goals of women. She calls it anger, but unfocused confusion would seem to be more accurate. While a feminist consciousness has to a limited extent permeated into the general consciousness of the male populace, it has yet to make serious inroads in many areas.

Perhaps much of the current political stagnation in the feminist movement can be attributed to the economic uncertainty spreading throughout America today. When the crunch hits, as it has in 1979, many males who otherwise might have been drawn into the ranks of feminist supporters are rethinking their positions. It is all well and good to favor sexual equality, but when times are tight personal economy takes precedence over individual autonomy, like it or not.

Obviously, to change that status women are either going to have to hope for better economic circumstances (a prospect none too bright in the immediate future) or redouble their new efforts, especially in non-economic areas, to convince men anew of their cause.

Some of the male anger Lynch notes, especially in the work place, I think has resulted from the same process that creates resentment against blacks who aspire to move into the system or to rise within it. Many males, having spent the better part of their adult lives playing the corporate game and struggling to make it economically, naturally resent what they feel is an invasion of women into their ranks, even if the inundation turns out to be a trickle instead of a flood. They see the newcomers as many times poorly trained and mis-educated, and whose sole qualification is that they are women who came along at a time when corporations have found a way to take advantage of public sentiment to hire females at low pay.

—Don Porter
South Bend, Ind.

KNOWS THE DIFFERENCE

NANCY LIEBER'S ARTICLE (*ITT*, JULY 11) defending Mario Soares and the Portuguese Socialist party (PSP) has already drawn several critical responses. As the critics point out, the PSP is socialist in name but conservative in fact. After the 1974 revolution, the PSP helped put a badly shaken Portuguese capitalism back on its feet, at tremendous cost to the working people of Portugal. A more splendid example of social-democratic betrayal could hardly be imagined.

Recently (*ITT*, Sept 16) Lieber has written a letter in which she adds material left out of the original article. However, she omits one very important fact from both the original article and the follow-up article. She "forgets" to mention that Soares and the PSP enjoy strong support from Washington, and have received both overt and covert (CIA) funding. Surely, this fact could have been included. Have the State Department and the CIA suddenly become suppo-

ters of socialism? Or have they seized upon the PSP as a handy weapon in the fight against communism?

The PSP-CIA connection casts a revealing light on the actual policy of the PSP, as opposed to its rationalizations, which Lieber seems to take at face value. This is not the first time that the CIA has supported a social-democratic party. The wise folks in Washington know the difference between genuinely socialist forces and those who merely proclaim themselves socialist. Apparently not everybody knows the difference.

—John Farley
Tucson, Ariz.

KUCINICH

I WAS DISTURBED THAT IN CUTTING the story on the Cleveland election (*ITT*, Oct. 10) a section referring to racist literature used by Mayor Kucinich was eliminated from the article.

The literature accused city council members targeted for defeat by the mayor with voting "three times for forced busing," when, in fact, busing was ordered by a federal judge and never voted upon in city council.

The literature equated a vote by council to spend \$30,000 to distribute a film dealing with legal aspects of desegregation as a vote for "forced busing," a term used by anti-busing forces.

Kucinich's use of the literature combined with his endorsement by and embracing of the most active anti-busing group has aroused deep concern among activists who have found his anti-corporate political actions encouraging.

—Roldo Bartimole
Cleveland

MOVING THE DEMOCRATS

AS LONG AS THE LEFT IS NOT POPULARly distinguishable from the liberals, the dynamics of two-party campaigns facilitate tagging liberals as the "far left." This puts liberal candidates on the defensive and stimulates the all-too-familiar drift to the "center."

Support for a third party (and the consequent popular identification of an independent left) may be the most effective strategy for moving the Democratic party after the convention toward humane and egalitarian (in contrast to prevailing managerial and militaristic) goals.

—William H. Kreider
Media, Pa.

HE IS OUR LEADER?

FOR SOME STRANGE REASON BORN Again Bob Dylan (*ITT*, Oct. 10) has always been in the same category as Paul Harvey. Both have escaped serious challenges. Personally, I wish people would call Dylan what Dylan really is—"an opportunistic fake." The '60s style was to sing "those meaningful protest songs." Of course, believing in them was something quite different.

Dylan made his money from such singing activities. And now the zeitgeist dictates "the religious experience." So Dylan again joins the crowd; somewhat like the Frenchman asking "Which way did the crowd go? I must know because I am their leader." If in the future it is popular to place a red bow tie in your rectum, you may be assured that Bob Dylan will poetically follow suit.

—Dr. Kenneth Oldfield
Hays, KS

THE UNIQUENESS OF UE

IN YOUR EDITOR'S NOTE SEPT. 5, YOU say that there are no political differences between the UE and the IUE.

I must disagree, and point out some characteristics of the UE that distinguish it not only from the IUE, but from most American unions I do so not only as a UE member, but as a third generation GE worker with longstanding family ties to the IUE Local 201 at the Lynn, Mass. GE plant.

The differences between the UE and IUE on questions of foreign policy and civil liberties are well known. It was the UE's principled stands on these issues that placed it, along with the ILWU and a few smaller unions, in a pariah status within the American labor movement for twenty years. Workers in our industry, who once led the CIO in wages and other benefits, fell far behind auto, steel and other industries during that period because of the disunity in our ranks created by the Cold War.

But there are other important differences. In the UE, we emphasize the mobilization of the rank and file as the key to success in a wide range of union activities, from political action to collective bargaining, and from settling grievances to organizing the unorganized. Our approach to grievances illustrates this. The UE, unlike the IUE and most AFL-CIO unions, takes very few grievances to arbitration. Arbitration is very expensive, seldom successful for labor, and it takes the grievance out of the hands of the people in the best situation to win it: the workers in the shop.

There are two elements in the UE approach to grievances that are all too unique. First, we try to win the dispute before it is ever written up as a grievance, by getting the workers in the affected department to put heat on the first-line supervision. And secondly, we maintain, and exercise, the contractual right to strike over a grievance after it has gone through the formal grievance procedure.

When I look closely at what *ITT* publishes and chooses not to publish, it is not so surprising that these subtle distinctions would escape you.

You "cover labor" by telling us what Bill Winpisinger and Doug Fraser are saying and doing. Now, don't get me wrong; it is important to report on the progressive direction of these leaders. But apparently it would never occur to you to interview an IAM shop steward, or to cover the political activities of some UAW local somewhere in central Ohio. I notice that you periodically publish Studs Terkel's picture and some friendly words he said about your paper, as one of your endorsements by "left celebrities." But you'd rather devote your pages to such stuff as Leland Stauber's mental construct of a "market socialism" than to a little bit of "Terkelian" journalism.

—Al Hart
Erie, Pa.

Editor's note: Our editor's note of Sept. 6 said that the difference in politics between UE and IUE had no significance in relation to GE or Westinghouse. It did not say there were no differences. We did note that UE has a generally high level of militant activity. We welcome Hart's spelling out of what this means in his experience.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

BERNARD DEMCZUK

A prison guard union local comes out for the rights of inmates

THE CORRECTIONAL WORKERS' UNION OF THE DISTRICT of Columbia department of corrections, American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) Local 1550, has taken a unique stand against unsafe and unfair working and living conditions at the district's jail and prison 25 miles outside the capital at Lorton, Va. ¶The union is protesting dangerous conditions due to understaffing, poor job training, high job stress and low morale. Tied to the union's protests are complaints of inadequate medical attention, substandard

rehabilitative programs and poor living conditions for inmates. These conditions increase tension between correctional officers and inmates, thereby increasing the incidence of violence.

Traditionally, corrections unions have been unconcerned about the long-term interest of workers, minorities or the communities they serve. They have generally made crisis-oriented demands on immediate needs while doing nothing to change the structural problems that perpetually cause trouble.

Traditional demands have been for more pay and benefits and for stricter controls over inmate violence against officers.

Correctional workers are on the short end of a system that is entangled in bureaucratic inefficiency, waste and harm. But their unions have delayed real change against their own self-interests. As a result, the workers, inmates, their families and, ultimately, the community suffer from a system that promotes

violence, not rehabilitation.

Corrections succeeds only in growing as a result of its failures. The more it fails, the worse things get, and the more it grows, with bigger, more crowded jails and prisons.

In a groundbreaking step toward addressing this problem, our union held a major news conference on Oct. 1 at the D.C. jail to demand an immediate hiring of qualified officers and medical staff, better job training and an end to media misconceptions and public opinion that correctional officers are dumb, racist and brutal. (Nearly 70 percent of our members are black and many are well educated).

Understaffing and poor training cause high absenteeism and sloppy job performance as well as increased amounts of contraband and violence.

Our local pointed out that the high incidences of ulcers, high blood pressure, alcoholism, marital and emotional problems and suicides afflict corrections

officers, who are often not prepared psychologically to manage a cellblock or prison yard with 80 to 150 inmates, each with their own special needs.

Local 1550 has also supported an inmate class action suit against the correctional department that paralleled its grievances almost point for point. The officers demanded something be done immediately to stop further violence, suicides, breakouts or actions against officers' jobs.

Prison and city managers were criticized for allowing dangerous conditions to exist.

By attacking the violence that the prison system inflicts—both psychologically and physically—on both the keeper and the kept, Local 1550 has broken important new ground.

At our news conference, we demanded the city and management appropriate funds to establish a penal system where inmates won't be raped, commit suicide or be murdered by one another while asleep and where young, idealistic and energetic officers are not psychologically burned out in a matter of months on the job.

But where does the money come from?

As the economy deteriorates, unions must establish a comprehensive plan for survival in the 1980s.

Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry announced Oct. 2 that over 1,000 school, police, health clinic and social

service jobs will be cut.

Worse than our financial problems, there is little justice to a system that targets, captures and confines people because of race and class. In the D.C. jail, over 95 percent of the inmates are black and poor.

The struggle for justice extends to struggling against the injustices of unemployment, racism, dismal education and housing. These social cancers directly affect street crime, prison conditions—and the lives of criminal justice workers.

Correctional workers unions are here to stay and are growing more powerful every year, much like police unions.

How will their organized strength be used? Will it be used for or against labor and minority movements?

The correctional officers and other workers of AFGE Local 1550 support better conditions for inmates because we see the benefits to ourselves. Our demands for more staff and respected, professional standards are consistent with the government's professed goals of prison reform, deinstitutionalization, alternatives to prison and a moratorium on further prison construction. In addition, our progressive goals make our bargaining position stronger for better pay, benefits and community respect. ■

Bernard Demczuk is a correctional officer and chief shop steward for AFGE Local 1550.

Autoworkers, big oil

Continued from page 3.

location of the rally in front of one union headquarters (giving it the prime publicity and feeding longstanding rivalries).

Despite the tentative steps by unions into new areas of political action and new coalitions, not only among themselves but also with community groups, public interest advocates and even socialists (as *Business Week* duly noted

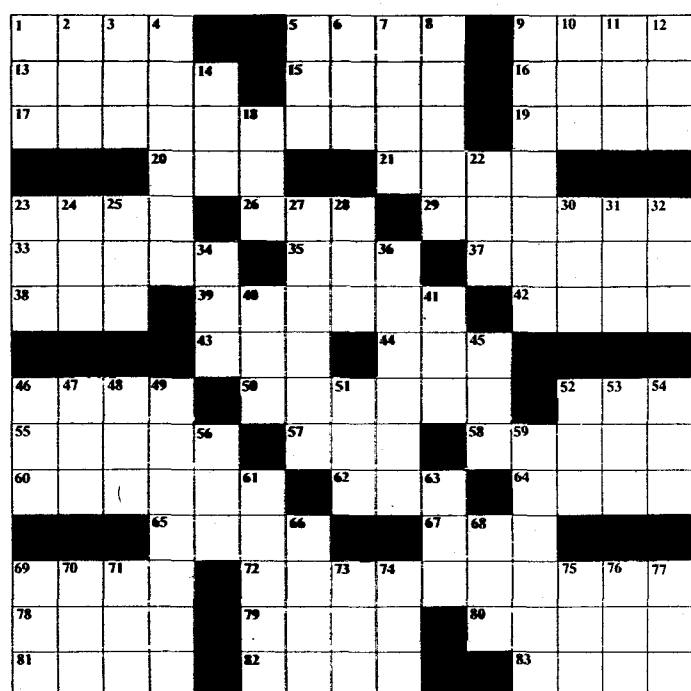
recently), it appears that most leaders have not yet decided to put their members where their mouths are.

Perhaps many members are equally uninterested. But not all. Frank Lombardi, 57, a Machinists steward from Brooklyn, said, "I took time off from work today. It's my duty. I think that should have a nationwide stoppage of work for one day or one hour, all unions together. They do it in Europe. I don't know why we can't do it here."

UAW stewards Ana Romero and Bob Weingart, a radio repairman at Potemkin Cadillac, were convinced many of their local members would come out on a Saturday. They were sympathetic to the demand to nationalize the oil companies. "We need somebody we can trust, like Ralph Nader, to regulate the oil companies," said Weingart. "Nobody can believe anybody anymore."

The distrust was evident later in the afternoon when Meyers led a small delegation into talks with Exxon officials. He accused Exxon and the industry of threatening the well-being of the American people, undermining the economy and subverting democracy. "We're here to tell you that the people out there are really mad," another citizen delegate said in summary, after others alluded to the strong sentiment for nationalization of oil in their local unions.

"We believe that," Exxon public relations representative Steve Stamos unhesitatingly replied. ■



ACROSS

- 1 Writer Sholom
- 5 Rumanian city
- 9 Seduce
- 13 Navy device
- 15 Cut off
- 16 Persian poet
- 17 Bounced official
- 19 Ancient instrument
- 20 Gentle follower
- 21 Left Bank bench
- 23 "to _____" (just right)
- 26 Literary contraction
- 29 Joining oxen
- 34 Term of music or geometry
- 35 Soak flax
- 37 Past or future
- 38 Fowl one
- 39 Hammy Chief of Staff?
- 42 Huck's vehicle
- 43 Cousin to Mme.
- 44 What HES did in '48 and '52 etc.
- 46 Frenzy
- 50 Issue of the day
- 52 Letters for Bernadette
- 55 Ousted chief of 50 Across
- 57 Ruby or John
- 58 Wimbledon champ, once
- 60 Close tightly, as teeth
- 62 Former name of Tokyo
- 64 Canal or lake
- 65 S. Pac. Island
- 67 Negative conjunction
- 69 Clerical title
- 72 JEC's is in question
- 78 Perished
- 79 Works hang at MOMA
- 80 Marshlike
- 81 Carter's pal?
- 82 N.Y.-Paris flyers
- 83 Canned pork

Presidential Politics

By David Mermelstein

DOWN

- 1 Priestly vestment
- 2 The tone G
- 3 Raw
- 4 Companion to sickle or tongs
- 5 Appropriate
- 6 Cheer
- 7 Nile delta resident
- 8 Pause
- 9 New star at the Fed
- 10 Kid in a big white house
- 11 Spoil
- 12 Prefix for fix
- 14 Born
- 18 Dir.
- 22 "Ask _____"

- 23 Helmut's exclamation "_____end of time"
- 25 Time division
- 27 Commissioned trip
- 28 Political coloration
- 30 Actress Claire
- 31 Loan org.
- 32 Obtain
- 34 Wolfman and others
- 36 Smeared
- 40 Mined rock
- 41 Old horse
- 45 Bevan
- 46 Jewish org.
- 47 _____de mer
- 48 Cockney's castle
- 49 Former NY senator
- 51 Shoe size

- 52 Sun. talk
- 53 Prefix for angle
- 54 Season, in Cannes
- 56 Sch. subject
- 59 Stanzas
- 61 Old ship bodies
- 63 First word in Nicholson film
- 66 Fish
- 68 Hockey great
- 69 Part of speech: Abbr.
- 70 See 56 Down
- 71 "And so to _____"
- 73 At the age of: Lat.
- 74 French preposition
- 75 With it
- 76 Cantor's woman
- 77 Puritan leader

A NEW INQUIRY is the new MAGAZINE FOR A NEW POLITICAL POLITICS

While others—liberals and conservatives alike—recoil in horror from the popular revolt against the welfare-warfare state, *INQUIRY* points the way toward a future free from repression, bureaucratic arrogance, and economic privilege. Join the thousands of Americans who find *INQUIRY*'s tough reporting and daring analysis the perfect antidote to the old politics. In each issue of *INQUIRY*, you'll find such exciting writers as David Wise, Penny Lernoux, Robert Sherrill, Noam Chomsky, Nicholas von Hoffman, Thomas Szasz, and Nat Hentoff.

Please return coupon to:
INQUIRY, P.O. BOX 2500,
Menlo Park, California 94025.

INQUIRY

Joseph Heller Talks about Good as Gold
Bill Clements: Dark Tales of a Rising Star
How the Fed Screws the Small Saver

The Balanced Budget Amendment: BIG SPENDERS ON THE RUN



YES, send me the next year of *INQUIRY* for \$12.50, half off the regular newsstand price.
Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

PERSPECTIVES

Palestinians look on Israel in much the way Israelis see the PLO

By Steve Dryden

JUST ONE WEEK BEFORE THE ANDREW YOUNG controversy erupted in August what has now become an obvious part of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) strategy—the cultivation of ties between the PLO and sympathetic U.S. groups such as blacks and the clergy—was the subject of a lecture at the Institute of Palestine Studies in Beirut. The speaker, Edward Said, a professor of English at Columbia University (and a member of the PLO's "parliament in exile," the Palestine National Council), argued that "there is a constituency [in the U.S.] for fairness and justice" that Palestinians could successfully approach for support. This constituency, he said, forms an important "advocacy tradition," one that has had a significant—and sometimes decisive—effect on the direction of U.S. policy. Said mentioned Martin Luther King, Norman Thomas and I.F. Stone as among those who embodied what he called the American "conscience."

It is important that Arabs grasp this fact about American politics, he said, because for too long it has been obvious that they believe their own propaganda alleging that Jews and Wall Street run the U.S. The influence of the Jewish lobby is "secondary; its success or failure depending on what the U.S. gives it," he said.

Yet Said reminded his audience that the U.S. is an "imperial state," capable of wreaking "unparalleled violence" upon the world. He noted the talk in Washington about the need for a Persian Gulf "strike force," and warned of the political malaise of the seventies.

Some observers, pointing to the events of the past few months, might disagree with Said's conclusion. One by one, the West European states are dropping their inhibitions about dealing with the PLO and supporting Palestinian nationalism. Palestinian unity has been encouraged by the common rejection of the Camp David agreement, and the goal most often mentioned by the PLO at this—a West Bank-Gaza state—is no longer seen as extremist by many American policymakers.

But most Palestinian leaders and intellectuals remain level-headed in their assessments of the chances for a Palestinian state. They believe that Egypt's withdrawal from the Middle East conflict was a serious blow, and they worry about the ability, and desire, of the other Arab states to bring effective pressure on Cairo and the other members of the Camp David "trio," the U.S. and Israel. Perhaps as a result of this pessimism—and, of course, the internal politics of the Palestinian movement—the public position of the PLO often shifts, or is maddeningly vague. But at a time when the PLO is gaining tentative acceptance by the West, this tendency (which has caused the PLO trouble in the past) could be a serious liability.

With this problem in mind, I asked Rashid Khaladi, a young Harvard- and Oxford-educated Palestinian who edits the PLO's daily news bulletin, about the importance of the summer's wranglings at the UN over resolution 242. He said he thought the attempt to formulate a new version of 242 was a "waste of time," because the Israelis would not go along. All the same, I said, would the

PLO accept a new resolution that recognized Palestinian national rights and the rights of all countries in the area, including Israel, to live within secure borders?

"Probably," he answered.

Then why, I said, doesn't the PLO go ahead and recognize Israel now? Some observers have said that such a move would break the current Middle East stalemate by making Israel come to terms with concrete evidence of PLO "moderation."

"You make concessions from strength," Khaladi said. "Israel has our people hostage. If we make concessions it doesn't mean Israel will go along. Israel does not want a sovereign Palestinian state within the Mandate area, and they won't until there is a shift in the balance of forces."

Implicit recognition.

Anyway, Khaladi said, the PLO had already implicitly acknowledged Israel's right to exist by adopting a political program, in 1977 and again this year, that called only for the establishment of a state on Palestinian soil. The demand for a "secular, democratic state in all of Palestine" was dropped. I asked Khaladi about the PLO's covenant, which calls for the elimination of Israel, but he dismissed it as a "statement of basic ideals, somewhat out of date." What about the ruling Israeli Likud party, which demands that the West Bank be considered an integral part of Israel, he asked.

"The Palestinians are not fools like Anwar Sadat—he pretends. They are skeptical of the carrot and stick approach. You have to give them something, to say, 'Here, you can return to your home in Haifa.'"

The mention of Haifa was a reference to the PLO demand that Palestinians be allowed to return to the land they or their families occupied in Israel before they left or were expelled. I said to Khaladi that this demand presumed a great deal of harmony between any future Palestinian state and Israel. Did he expect such coexistence possible?

Israel acts as if it is the "great superpower of Western Asia," he said. "There can be no coexistence between this Israeli 'machine' and the Palestinian state. One will shred the other eventually."

Except for saying he hoped Israelis "who can live with us" will come to power some day, Khaladi did not make it clear how Israel was to shed its "superpower" attitudes. But his feelings did reflect one universal Palestinian belief: the way things are now, the Palestinian state, not Israel, will need security guarantees. Israel's bomb-attack campaign in Lebanon has convinced the Palestinians that the U.S. has yet to

bring the Israelis under control.

Most of the PLO officials I spoke to said they did not expect any movement of the U.S. away from Israel until after the 1980 elections. Shafik al-Hout, a PLO leader who spoke at several American universities last spring (he was the first PLO official granted a visa for such a purpose) said: "The U.S. realizes that the PLO is becoming an important political factor and that if they want to tackle the Palestinian question they cannot do so without consulting the PLO. But they have yet to develop their political position to the point where they can meet with the PLO. I wouldn't say that we will see a dialogue in the very near future. It is not time yet."

Khaladi described the PLO's feelings about the U.S. as "equivocal. On the one hand, the PLO is saying there is no possibility of change [on the part of the U.S.] after Camp David, but it's also acting as if it wants to give the U.S. a message."

This "message" became obvious in August, when Arafat told interviewers from the *Washington Star* that he was ready to do "anything" to start a U.S.-PLO dialogue. Asked when he wanted "normal, official relations" with the U.S., he replied "as soon as possible." In spite of his daily attacks on "American imperialism" Arafat is known to be one of the firmest believers within the PLO in the ability of the U.S. to deliver a state to the Palestinians.

Pessimism

But I encountered pessimism during a conversation I had in mid-August with one of Beirut's most prominent Palestinians, a professor of government who had taught in the U.S. and had often been mentioned as a possible interlocutor for U.S.-PLO contacts.

"In the latter part of 1977 Carter showed a great concern for the Palestinian aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict," he said. "we thought it was the beginning perhaps of a great breakthrough. But since that time I have only seen zig-zagging—one step for-

ward, and one step back.

"I don't agree with Said on the role of the Israeli lobby. I think the Arab-Israeli conflict is a matter of domestic American politics—the division between the legislative and executive branches—and Carter is vulnerable. And of course, anti-Soviet feelings play a big role. The pro-Israeli and the anti-Soviet lobbies are quite a combination, and Carter is always on the run from them. I don't see what we can do—the U.S. doesn't see that the more pro-Israel it is, the more it pushes the Arabs towards the Soviets."

I asked him about the role and beliefs of those in the PLO who are known as "moderates."

"Well, there has been a new assessment on the part of many Palestinians and Arabs. They have not said the Israelis are lovable or that Zionism is justifiable. But they have realized that the 2.5 million Jews in Israel are a fact, and that they have their own vigorous society...Whatever the rights and wrongs on the conflict, we have said [by our advocacy of a West-Bank-Gaza state] that we will not settle for half a loaf, but for a quarter of a loaf."

There are factions within the Palestinian movement that oppose Arafat's moves toward the West, and don't like the idea of any compromise with Israel. The most prominent of these groups is Dr. George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which left the PLO executive committee in 1974 over these issues. Bassam Abu Sherif, one of the chief PFLP strategists, told me that "we don't see any material result in clashing with Arafat now," so his group was remaining silent while the PLO campaigned for Western support.

But it is clearly Arafat who controls the strongest Palestinian military force, and commands the greatest respect among the Palestinian people. His meetings this year with important West European leaders, and most recently, with American blacks such as Jesse Jackson, have given him added stature.

No one who was there
will ever forget.

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

An American Chronicle
of Struggle and Schism

John R. Salter, Jr.

In June, 1963, the focus of the nation was upon Jackson, Mississippi. There, one of America's first massive nonviolent protests—known as the Jackson Movement—erupted into violence, forever altering both the American consciousness and the course of the civil rights movement. John R. Salter, Jr., one of the key organizers and leaders of the Jackson Movement, has not forgotten what happened there. In this memoir, Mr. Salter presents the stirring chain of events that led to the tragic murder of Medgar Evers on June 12, 1963. JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI is a searing look at a crucial page in American history.

"It is an invaluable study in how community movements are built and how they can be thwarted—in this case by, among other forces, the federal government."

—Southern Fight-Back
(Southern Organizing
Committee for
Economic & Social
Justice)

"This book is the best work available on the Mississippi Movement... (it) will be used as a textbook by agitator/organizers and community groups."

—Rev. R. Edwin King, Jr.
Founder,
Mississippi Civil
Liberties Union,
Principal Leader of the
Mississippi Freedom
Democratic Party

ISBN: 0-682-49353-8 \$10.00

Complete and Mail Today
EXPOSITION PRESS, INC., Dept. ETT
Hicksville, N.Y. 11801 (516) 822-5700

Please send me... copies of JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI by John R. Salter, Jr. @ \$10.00 plus \$1.25 postage and handling per copy. In N.Y. add tax. (Major credit card orders accepted by phone or mail if \$15 or more.)

Total Enclosed \$

Name

Address

City State Zip

Big oil

Continued from page 3

by Mayor David R. Humes to a 3500-person demonstration in Chicago. Events included a candlelight march in Southfield, a suburb of Detroit, to the Mobil and Amoco headquarters, a demonstration at a Shell refinery outside of Los Angeles, and an evening protest at Carter-Mondale headquarters in Concord, N.H.

The Chicago demonstration was the largest and most successful (crowd estimates ranged from 1000 to 5000). The rally, organized by the Illinois Public Action Council, attracted the staff and some rank-and-file from the UAW, the Machinists, the Graphic Arts International, the United Electrical Workers, the Mineworkers, the Clothing and Textile Workers, AFSCME, the Independent Truckers, and the local Taxi union. Before the rally began, Independent Truckers circled the demonstration site in their trucks. And Taxi Union members passed out "Big Oil Discredit Cards" to all their customers.

The rally also attracted local college students, representatives from Operation PUSH, and members of Chicago's many neighborhood organizations.

The rally began with the Mendel High School band playing the "Star-Spangled Banner." The speakers, who included Tom Hayden, Jane Fonda, Ted Bates of the Independent Truckers, Jim Wright of the UAW, and C/LEC director Heather Booth, struck mostly to oil prices and profits. Campaign for Economic Democracy chairman Hayden did put in a plug for a federal energy corporation, and to considerable applause, Steelworker dissident Ed Sadlowski declared that "it is high time to nationalize the oil industry." There was a surprising absence—in Chicago as well as in other cities—of campaign pitches for presidential candidates.

The usual anti-nuke demonstrators were not there, but a group from the Bailly Alliance, a Northwest Indiana



Steelworker leader Ed Sadlowski speaking to the Oct. 17 demonstrators.

organization that is fighting the erection of a nuclear generating station next to a steel plant, did attend the rally. Bailly spokesman Joe Frantz, who is also a member of Steelworkers Local 1010, told IN THESE TIMES that for them oil prices and profits and the nuclear issue were the same. "Nuclear power is not just a question of safety, but of economics," he said. "The problem is providing energy for people rather than maximizing profits for energy corporations."

The only sour note concerning the rally was sounded earlier in the week when Harl H. Ray, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois AFL-CIO withdrew from the speakers' list. "I refuse to go onto the same platform with Jane Fonda," Ray explained. "I disagree with Fonda on a number of issues, including her defense of the North Vietnamese who killed our men."

Harl was acting only for himself, however. National AFL-CIO Secretary-

Treasurer and probable future president Lane Kirkland sent a telegram to the rally in which he stated that "the AFL-CIO fully supports the Campaign to Lower Energy Prices."

Disappointments elsewhere.

Some of the demonstrations in other cities were not as successful as the Chicago one. Only 500 people gathered at the Shell Oil Refinery in Los Angeles. (One participant reported that Los Angeles' huge anti-nuclear movement was totally absent.) A Cleveland rally drew only 200. A march in Detroit, where the organizers had expected 2000, drew only 400. One person who had been to the march commented, "I've been to a lot of demonstrations in my day, but this has to rate as one of the top five worst." Even a rally at Capitol Hill in Washington attracted only 250 people.

Local participants blamed the poor turnouts on a lack of outreach. "They really didn't do a job of mobilization," one Los Angeles activist said of the demonstration organizers. And an IN THESE TIMES survey of demonstration plans in several cities prior to Oct. 17 revealed that on the day before several veteran demonstration-goers didn't even know where the Big Oil Day demon-

strations were to occur.

Machinists president William Winpisinger, who spoke at the Los Angeles rally quipped later that at least there were more people at the rally than on the boards of directors of major oil companies.

Cowering Congress.

Without enormous pressure to counteract that of the oil companies, Carter and Congress can be expected to do the company's bidding. In the week before Big Oil Day, a new Central Intelligence Agency study emerged showing that the oil companies had manufactured the import shortages to justify price hikes. According to columnist Jack Anderson the CIA reported that there was no oil import shortage from January to July 1979, when the oil companies and Sec. of Energy James Schlesinger were using Iran's revolution to justify new price increases.

These studies had little impact on the House or Senate. Last week, while the Senate Finance Committee was whittling down Carter's windfall profits tax, the House defeated by 257 to 135 Rep. Toby Moffett's proposal to reimpose price controls for another year. Voting against the Moffett proposal were Democrats who last May had supported the House Democratic Caucus's proposal to continue price controls.

With Moffett's proposal so soundly defeated, the more ambitious Moffett-Metzenbaum Citizens Energy Act of 1979 stands little chance of passage on Capitol Hill. "I see no sign that the proposal will be taken seriously," one House energy aide said.

But C/LEC director Heather Booth thinks that the tide will turn. "Within two years, there will be reimposition of controls," she said. Booth gave three reasons: first, Ted Kennedy's entering the presidential race, which she thinks will give oil price control a "new legitimacy;" second, the "greed" of the oil companies, which she believes will result in continued atrocities and exposes; and third, the ability of C/LEC and the Campaign for Lower Energy Prices to create an "organizational climate" that will force candidates to favor controls. As Booth pointed out, the Big Oil Day demonstrations were only the beginning of a long campaign.

As an opening act, the Big Oil demonstrations were quite impressive and could lead, as Booth maintained, to a national movement strong enough to force Carter's and the Congress's hands. ■

The 1980s are coming. Where do you fit in?



The 1980's are going to be a tumultuous decade of change in the U.S. Recession, inflation, unmet social expectations, the rise of the right, resurgence of the left, international disorder, repression and resistance. Where do you fit in?

To seriously understand these developments, you will need the Guardian—North America's largest circulation independent radical weekly newspaper, 24 tabloid pages of national and international news and analysis from an intelligently objective Marxist point of view, partisan and professional.

We're slashing prices to introduce you to the Guardian. Subscribe before Dec. 31 and you can receive the Guardian every week for a year for \$13, a \$12 saving over the newsstand rate and \$4 off our usual sub price. Or test the Guardian \$7 for six months.

To the Guardian, 33 W. 17th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011.

Enclosed is:

☐ \$13 for a one-year subscription

☐ \$7 for a six-month subscription

☐ Please begin my subscription and bill me.

name _____

address _____

city _____

state _____

zip _____

SPECIAL CUT-RATE OFFER

Dead

Continued from page 9.

democracy after, on the one hand, the collapse of Keynesian illusions as to the ability of state planning to master capitalist crises, and, on the other, the dwindling chances of compromise between the dominant and dominated classes due to the current economic crisis.

"...But the main cause, primarily social, of the crisis of the left seems to be evaded: Laborite and Communist parties are set up as worker parties, even though they were never more than worker oriented. Their organization is based on factory conflicts (party-union partnership) and the relatively uniform work conditions that prevail there. This was the outlook of the Communist as well as of the British, German or Swedish Social Democratic parties..."

"But popular revolts are taking new forms of expression...Even when they concern the working class, revolts often happen upstream or downstream from production...Student, feminist, ecological, regionalist movements focus widespread popular protest, shifted into the cultural field...These movements are not in opposition to the class struggle, but they are naturally tied up with the economic, political and ideological contradictions inherent to the current reproduction of capital."

"...The crisis of the mass workers parties comes at the very moment when they seem more necessary than ever..."

For the search for democratic socialism must succeed in combining revitalized representative democracy and a democratized state with instances of direct democracy in self-management situations. Parties are a major instrument of such a combination, contrary to those who, like Foucault and Gauntari, preach complete autonomy for social movements, simple promoters of micro-resistance and fragmentary experimentation. In that case, corporatism, privatization and bourgeois recuperation would be sure to change the nature of such movements, not through the unlikely revival of some fascist-leaning Poujadism, but through an 'Americanization' that threatens European societies.

"The profound transformation of worker parties, their internal democratization, a new way of relating to mass organizations and an appropriate adjustment to their internal social diversity (for example intellectuals), all these reforms become necessary...to enable them to deal with the crisis of the political system and at the same time make their presence felt in the area of social movements."

"But this very metamorphosis raises basic questions. Up to what point can parties change without turning into catch-all populist parties? As for social movements, they would run the risk of being diluted inside political parties, of losing their originality, especially since they have not yet found organizational forms of their own...Perhaps a certain irreducible tension between renovated workers parties and social movements is necessary to the democratic socialist dynamic." ■

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

LINTON QWESI JOHNSON

Jana Scher

STEREOTYPES WERE JUST blowin' in the wind when Linton Kwesi Johnson, a 27-year-old Jamaican-born poet from London, recently recited some of his poems before a predominantly punk crowd in San Francisco's Mabuhay Gardens nightclub.

A political activist and non-believer operating in the reggae world created and dominated by Rastafarians, Johnson has been called "the foremost black British poet of his generation" by the New Musical Express. Despite the absence of references to Jah, ganja, and Marcus Garvey, and the lack of musical accompaniment (on his albums Johnson's poetry is backed up by some of Britain's finest reggae musicians), Johnson's words of pride and protest were greeted with shouts for "More Poesii!" by the pogoers in the audience.

Linton Johnson's history is similar to that of many in England's West Indian communities. Born in a small town in Clarendon County, Jamaica, Johnson and his family left the countryside when the land could no longer support them, arriving eventually in Brixton, London in 1963. He graduated from the University of London with a degree in sociology, and has since worked as a freelance writer, political activist, and poet.

Johnson's language comes from his roots. Though initially foreign to some Jamaicans, his voice and message became readily understandable to all who would listen carefully.

Though Linton Johnson's musical poetry on his two albums—*Dread Beat and Blood* (Virgin, UK import) and *Forces of Victory* (Mango Records, a division of Island Records)—will probably remind Americans of Gil Scott-Heron, he operates within the "dub" or "deejay" tradition in reggae music. In this type of reggae, a song is pared down to its basics. The rhythm section (bass and drums) dominates, with perhaps a bit of guitar and organ mixed in around the edges. Over this backing track deejays do their "toasts," their poetry, in time to the rhythm. In Jamaica and England, deejays with their own mobile sound systems travel to local communities and have

built up followings as large as those of reggae singers.

Forces of Victory is Linton Kwesi Johnson's second album, but the first to be released in this country. It demonstrates why Johnson has emerged as a spokesperson for Britain's West Indian community. He articulates the rage and bitterness of his people with brutal honesty, but he also captures the grace and warmth that exists amidst oppression.

Linton Johnson met with **IN THESE TIMES** during a recent visit to the San Francisco Bay Area.

Many of your poems relate to the strong ties that still exist between Jamaica and Jamaicans in Great Britain. What inspired a poem like "Come Wi Goh Dung Deh" from your first album, *Dread Beat and Blood*?

That poem was written as a consequence of a trip I made to Jamaica in 1974. This was the first time I had returned home in eleven years. I found that the conditions of existence for the urban masses had deteriorated measurably.

Do most blacks in Britain who are from Jamaica maintain close ties with their families in Jamaica?

Very much so. They send money home, they send clothes. Sometimes they might even send things like soap.

Is there any sense among Jamaicans in Britain of "making it" and then returning to Jamaica?

Most West Indians leave the Caribbean with that intention. But we in Britain have found that rather than going to England where the streets were supposed to be paved in gold and making a fortune and going back in a couple of years, that we've just been able to manage to exist. And then dependents, spouses, children arrive. Even some people who saved enough money to go back home, went back and found that they couldn't live there anymore. They had gotten too used to living in a modern, industrialized society to go back and live in a backward place like Jamaica.

And so after a while everybody starts to accept the fact of a permanent life in England. But the ties have never been severed. The music works as a great unifying

BY BRUCE DANCIS

Dread beat and blood: A Jamaican poet's view

"I'm writing about the experiences of blacks in Britain for blacks and anyone else who is willing to listen and partake of that experience."

*what a burnin inna man flesh
wid a whorlin an a turnin giddy
in de head
when de whap whey rink out
crack as dough of bone
at de flight of whip as lash slash
flesh;
and de sun did startle harsh
an red
when sting dat sing did bring
man an man whey straight inna
grace an toil
to crash in a twis like a shadow
fallin sudden down so.*

force. Reggae music is like the umbilical cord that attaches Jamaicans at home with Jamaicans in England. It keeps us in England informed as to what is happening in Jamaica, new trends in the language, which we hear in the lyricism of the records.

Do you see much difference between the reggae music made by people like yourself or Aswad or Steel Pulse, who are at this point Britons, and the music that is being made by Jamaicans?

Yes, the difference is that the music being made in England is no longer trying to imitate the music that Jamaicans make. The music in England is not informed by the vibes, by the pulse, by the tensions of Jamaica, but by tensions coming out of a different kind of society, a highly industrialized society—the tensions of London, Birmingham, Manchester. The focus of the artists in England are now increasingly becoming things that are concerning the existence of blacks in Britain.

Your main subject seems to be the oppression of working class blacks in Great Britain. Could you describe this black population in Britain?

There are perhaps two to three million blacks, first and second generation immigrants, spread over the inner cities in the large urban areas like London, Birmingham, Manchester, working mostly in the service industries and in the factories and building sites.

What is the extent of the black community's political power?

We are a force to be reckoned with. For example, the state and a lot of other interested parties tried to rob us of Carnival. Carnival has been established on the streets of Notting Hill for 16 years. This is a major cultural event in the life of a nation which takes place once a year in August. I suppose they felt threatened by so many blacks gathering together in one place every year.

They tried to change Carnival's character, to take it off the streets. So we made our force felt, and we won. When my parents' generation went to England in the '50s and early '60s, they were demoralized immigrants who had

Continued on page 20.

Continued from page 19.

to put up with a lot of humiliation. Whereas now that is not the case. We wouldn't put up with a lot of the things that blacks put up with over here [in the U.S.], because we come from countries where blacks have been in the majority.

Does that cause difficulty for Jamaican blacks when they move to England?

There isn't any black/white conflict of any significance in England. Over the last 30 years we've been living with the English people, and been getting on with them, by and large. Not everybody loves everybody, but we tolerate each other without too much fuss and quarrelling. At the same time, we've been able to reproduce and recreate our own identity and our own national, cultural life styles.

The struggle of blacks in Britain is not a struggle against whites. There are white fascist organizations like the National Front who carry on terrorist activities with the support of the police against the black community. But by and large they are not a force that we can't deal with. Our struggle is against the British state. It's an anti-colonial struggle, not a racial one.

When you say an anti-colonial struggle, do you mean in terms of a black nation within Britain? No. That would be the height of madness. That's political tomfoolery. We are a part of the working class in Britain, but we have a different historical experience from the English working class.

Our historical experience is one of slavery, the plantation experience. That of the English working class is of being driven away from the land into the urban areas in the Industrial Revolution. Since we have a history of struggle, and we find ourselves in the same colonial situation in Britain, we have to continue that struggle.

We're not isolationists. I belong to a political organization called Race Today. We see our task as building independent, social, cultural and political organizations that can represent us and make struggles in our own behalf without isolating ourselves from the rest of the community, accepting and welcoming the support of any other group within society which is willing to support our struggles. When it comes to specific struggles—on the factory floor, for example—there's no question that blacks and whites come out together because they have a common class interest.

"Independent Intavenshen," one of the songs on Forces of Victory, strongly criticizes the major political parties, as well as the British left.

We take the position that only blacks can organize themselves. We're not helpless victims and we don't need the white left to run our struggles for us. We can run it ourselves. But we're not in any sense separatists. We're internationalists, not nationalists.

Race Today is a collective, involved in building mass organizations. We have a bi-monthly journal which we use as a weapon to mobilize and inform. We belong to an alliance with other independent organizations like the Black Parents Movement, an organization of West Indian parents working around the question of police brutality and youth, and the Black Youth Movement, which is made up of students and some young, unemployed workers.

Do you see a time when it will

be possible to have alliances between black and white organizations?

Of course. But it's a historical process—it's not one that you force. It happens naturally.

What are your complaints about the way the white left has approached the black community?

They are totally and completely chauvinistic, opportunistic, and racist. They see blacks as helpless victims who can't organize their own struggles. Once

against it? What they're doing is organizing some good entertainment for young people, under a spurious political slogan. The kids will go to see Elvis Costello because they like him and they don't have to pay to get in.

Race Today has a fund-raising section called "Creation for Liberation." We don't make any big claims for it. You put on gigs to raise money. I organized a Creation for Liberation gig in Manchester with Johnny Rotten

and were socializing to it. They want to experiment with it.

But these others are people who believe that in order to sell their records to whites they have to bring into reggae music the kind of music they think whites like. I don't accept that. They believe that Bob Marley had a formula in "Roots, Rock, Reggae," and with "Exodus," a disco formula. They seem to be just mindlessly applying this formula.

With bands like Third World,

"The white left in Britain is opportunistic. They see blacks as helpless victims. Once we begin to organize ourselves independent of them, they brand us as racists."

we begin to organize ourselves independent of them, they brand us as racists. They will spout a lot of textbook nonsense about racism as a product of capitalism, and a lot of clichés. They see themselves as the vanguard of the working class. I don't know how they came to that conclusion, because you don't set yourself up as a vanguard—you earn that. These days, if there is any vanguard, it must come from the black working class, because we're the most revolutionary section of the society.

Why have you been publicly critical of Rock Against Racism in Britain?

I think that Rock Against Racism in England makes too much claims for itself. It fronts itself as a political cultural movement. It's nothing of the kind. They're basically a front for the Socialist Workers Party. All kinds of doctrinaire political groups are involved in it also.

I don't see the significance of rocking against racism. Why rock against racism—why not fight

(formerly of the Sex Pistols) and his group, Public Image, John Cooper Clarke, the Pop Group, a reggae band called Merger and myself. But I wasn't under any illusion that I was building a mass movement of young popular music fans who were going to fight down fascism. As far as I was concerned, we were just organizing a good gig for people to come and enjoy themselves, and so we could raise some money.

A lot of reggae musicians, in particular Peter Tosh, Third World and Inner Circle, are getting more into rock and disco. On the other hand, some New Wave rockers like the Clash and the Police are adopting reggae rhythms.

The latter process has much more integrity than what the former ones are trying to do. I believe it's a natural influence, as far as people like the Clash are concerned. Basically, they're working class kids who grew up in England and heard reggae

the non-Jamaican influences that they bring into their music are natural because they're middle class cats and that's the kind of music middle class Jamaicans listen to anyway. But with the others it's a contrived crossover, not one that comes from a process of natural influence. I think a lot of it has to do with record companies that tell these people that they must produce this kind of music.

Robbie Shakespeare, the bass player with Peter Tosh, told me he grew up in Jamaica listening to Jimi Hendrix, that he's always loved that music, and that the Tosh band's latest albums are not such major extensions.

I don't agree with that. I wouldn't question that Robbie was influenced by Jimi Hendrix, but that high, loud electric guitar sound is the very antithesis of reggae. Those howling, distorted sounds, and the urban blues guitar, are contradictory to reggae. Imagine a guy singing about the Jamaican scene, which is the reality of an underdeveloped so-

ciety, through a sound which comes out of and belongs to an advanced, industrial society. That's what the rock guitar is—the sound of the industrialized West.

Your poems are not only radical in content, they're also radical in form, particularly in your use of Jamaican English.

I don't think it's radical. It's natural. The only way I can write about the experiences of a Caribbean community is in their language. If I don't want them to understand what I'm talking about, then I'm going to do it in the rarefied language of English classical poetry. If I want them to understand, then I'm going to use the everyday language which they all share and speak.

Of course people say to me, "Don't you think that's going to stop whites from understanding?" It's not my business to make whites understand. I'm writing about the experiences of blacks in Britain for blacks and anybody else who is willing to listen and partake of that experience.

I don't think my lyricism is as difficult as street Jamaican. I grew up in England, and there are enough English words to make it easy to understand. Bob Dylan is unintelligible to a lot of people, but that doesn't stop his records from selling.

You've recorded one album on Virgin Records and one on Island/Mango. How have you been treated by the recording industry? Have you been able to maintain control over your work?

I wouldn't go into any relationship with a record company wherein people told me what to do with my music or with my poetry. Basically, the people who run record companies are fools when it comes to culture. They might know how to make and spend money, but they don't know what's happening on the streets, they don't know what the kids like, they don't know what is likely to be popular. In fact, it is a mystery to me how these record companies make money, because they have so many mindless morons working for them.

But by and large, I've been able to do what I want to with my work. I don't think I've been treated right by any record company financially, but Island Records has done a lot to promote my album in England, more than they do for most of their reggae product.

I think if reggae musicians were organized, the record companies wouldn't be able to get away with what they do. I believe every artist should aim for being independent of record companies and being able to create, produce, and market their own records themselves. But then, I have no money, no capital, so I have to go to the man with the capital.

Why has reggae failed to reach a broad audience in this country?

It's a process that will take much longer here in America than in Britain because America has such a vast variety of popular music forms of its own. Reggae hasn't got the base here it has in Britain. In Britain we have a strong sound system culture. There are lots of live reggae groups playing at a variety of venues. There are a lot of independent reggae record labels. There's a strong local market for the music in England.

But I think it will happen in America because reggae is the music of the future. It's the only music with real integrity and real feeling that's coming out of expressing truth—the truth of life and real conditions.



TV MOVIES

"New" Ali stars in drama of Reconstruction

By Al Auster

The NBC telecast on October 28th and 29th of the made-for-TV movie of Howard Fast's novel *Freedom Road* represents both a small comeback and a debut—one for the "real" Howard Fast, the other for the "new" Muhammad Ali.

The literary Howard Fast hardly needs much introduction. A 1953 Stalin Prize winner, he has written over 55 novels, translated into numerous languages. They have probably sold 30-40 million copies world wide. His books have also served as the basis of at least 10 movies, most notably *Spartacus* and *Rachel and the Stranger*.

The TV Howard Fast is less well known. However, he has been submitting scripts ever since the '60s (*The Defenders*), and his play *The Ambassador* won an Emmy. So even in TV Fast is no novice. But even old pros take their lumps.

Fast's last three novels, an epic saga of the immigrant Italian Lavette family titled respectively *The Immigrants*, *The Second Generation*, and *The Third Generation*, were optioned by Universal TV for their Operation Prime Time. Operation Prime Time is an attempt by a consortium of independent and network affiliate stations to finance their own productions and escape network domination.

Despite good intentions, the productions of OPT so far (*Testimony of Two Men*, *The Hustler*, *The Rebels*, *Evening in Byzantium*) have been nothing if not trashy. Generally they include a popular novel of epic pretensions heavily dosed with soap opera, and a mixed bag of young up-and-coming actors and actresses along with some old Hollywood and TV pros.

The OPT version of *The Immigrants* traced the rise of an Italian fisherman named Daniel Lavette from rags to riches to rags, and its main point seemed to be that the '30s Depression was good for you because it made

Ali's own public image gets in the way of his character, a freed slave who ends up in the Senate.

you realize what was really important in life. Reportedly when Fast saw the screenplay he hit the roof and even offered to rewrite it for free. The production company turned him down, since they were well along with the filming of the series.

Instead of suffering in silence Fast wrote a scathing attack on TV in *TV Guide*. After Fast got through beating a well-known dead horse—the ratings system as the source of all TV's ills—his piece was a mea culpa about taking the money and not staying around to establish a tradition of excellence in TV writing.

TV Reconstruction.

That tradition may now be established. In contrast to *The Immigrants*, David Zelag Goodman's script for *Freedom Road* goes a long way toward answering the question raised by the title of Fast's *TV Guide* article, "Why Endure the Humiliation."

Freedom Road presents a picture of the Reconstruction South that has hardly ever been seen on TV before. As a result of *Roots II*, *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* and other TV movies and mini-series, the TV audience, both white and black, probably got the impression that white southerners could hardly wait for the Civil War to end they could get back home and cut up the family sheets so as to scare blacks.



Freedom Road, on the other hand, is about a freed slave and ex-union soldier, Gideon Jackson, who returns to his South Carolina home after the war and cements an alliance between blacks and poor whites. This alliance takes him to the U.S. Senate and earns the hostility of the old plantation aristocracy.

Although *Freedom Road* presents Howard Fast at his best, it doesn't do the same for Muhammad Ali. The problem is that Gideon Jackson is so good, so intelligent, so abundantly endowed with common sense and charisma that he defies human portrayal. It would have been difficult even for an accomplished actor to turn him into more than a waxwork figure. Indeed had this been a fight Ali would have realized that he was in over his head.

Ali probably works harder than in his last few fights. For instance, in the very first scene a union officer reads the Emancipation Proclamation to a group of Black soldiers that includes Ali. And Ali gives a sense of a man trying to comprehend the words and what they will mean for his life. However, at every moment you are aware it's Ali trying to play the role of Gideon Jackson.

Obtrusive persona.

Unfortunately for Ali's portrayal of Gideon Jackson his biggest problem wasn't his lack of experience by his very first role—Muhammad Ali. Unlike other black athletes who turned actor (Jim Brown, Fred Williamson, Ken Norton) and didn't have much of a public persona, Ali's public role was truly revolutionary. Not only did he defy sports and political conventions, he created some of his own (most notably current athletes blowing their own horn). In *Freedom Road* he is called on to submerge that persona, and it doesn't work.

Luckily for Ali, the Fast novel has such narrative power that his acting doesn't bog the film down. In addition the producers pro-

vided an excellent director and supporting cast, the late Jan Kadar (*The Shop on Main Street*), although probably unfamiliar with the historical material and despite some occasional camera lapses into the tableau, never allowed the pace to slacken.

Ali is also helped by Kris Kristofferson as the taciturn stubborn poor white farmer Abner Lait, Edward Herrman (*Eleanor and Franklin*) as Stephen Holmes, an aristocratic white southerner who can hardly wait to

drop his Burkean conservative mask and start snapping his galluses, and Ron "Superfly" O'Neal as Francis Cardoza, a wealthy, educated Black politician.

The combination of Muhammad Ali and Howard Fast isn't going to revolutionize TV. But if more writers, actors and personalities who have clout refuse to do third rate work in TV then not only will we get more *Freedom Roads* on TV, it might even begin to "float like a butterfly, sting like a bee."

In These Times covers the labor movement from top to bottom, from the big struggles to the small. It can be expected to give the kind of political coverage you can't find elsewhere. I urge you to subscribe to In These Times.

William Winpisinger
President International
Association of
Machinists



- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
☐ Send me 48 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$19.00.
☐ Bill me later
☐ Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge
 Account number _____
 Signature _____

Name _____
 Address _____
 City/State/Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153 ST93

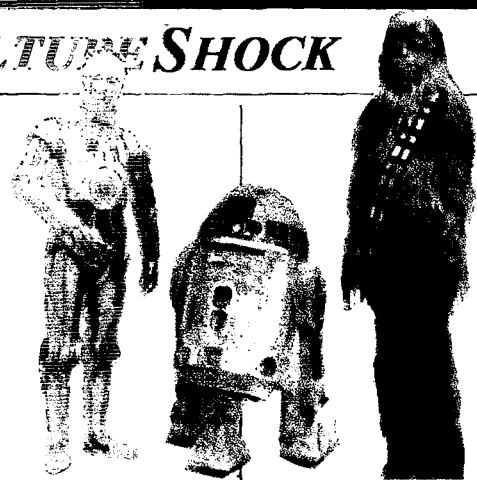
CULTURE SHOCK

OH, NOTHING

Total sales for the Nothing Book—197 bound blank pages—with spinoffs like the Nothing Album and the Nothing Notebook, now approach one million copies.

WORK WORK WORK

A Brooklyn sociologist, reports Zodiac news, has discovered another inequality between men and women



Women, among middle class couples whose routine conversations were recorded at home, kept most conversations going, while men more often than not initiated them.

RECYCLED NEWS

The summer's biggest box office hit was *Star Wars*, released after its record-breaking 1977 box office smash.

FILM FESTIVALS



Gal Young Un (above) romanticized history, unlike *Bush Mama* (lower right).

Returning to the hearth

By Lynn Garafola

This year's six-day Festival of American Independent Films, the first of its kind in New York, heralds the growing stature of American independent film. With fifteen entries selected by the Lincoln Center Film Society—the establishment-minded organizer of the New York Film Festival—and the Film Fund, independents were for the first time guaranteed more than token representation in the city's annual cinematic event.

Sandra Schulberg, formerly a story editor for PBS's *Visions* series, directed the independent festival, which also sponsored a three-day conference before the festival. In an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, Schulberg noted some of the differences between independent features of the past

and today's "new American cinema." In the '60s independent films, supported by a large college audience, experimented freely with form. Today's filmmakers also want to make "socially and humanly responsible films," says Schulberg, but they want to reach a larger audience as well. They want especially to tap potential filmgoers outside the 18-25 year old "commercial" market. To compete with Hollywood, independents today favor conventional narratives over less popular documentaries, "sophistication" at the expense of experiment, leftist content over experiments in form.

"Four out of the six newer films at the festival focus on distinctive regions of the country," says Schulberg. Socially and geographically, the films showcased at the festival evoke

a very different America from Hollywood's. Robert Young's *Alambrista!*, filmed in Mexico and the Southwest, explores the plight of illegal aliens. *Bush Mama*, by Ethiopian filmmaker Haile Gerima depicts the changing consciousness of a welfare mother in Watts. In *Gal Young Un*, Victor Nunez charts the rise and fall of a backwoods Florida bootlegger, while from the Great Plains comes *Northern Lights*, a film by John Hanson and Rob Nilsson about the North Dakota Non-Partisan League, and Richard Pearce's *Heartland*, the story of a woman homesteader in Wyoming.

With the exception of *Alambrista!* and *Bush Mama*, a mystique of the past runs through these films, a mystique that in varying degrees equates family relics with social history.

"*Gal Young Un* enlivens our sense of self," remarked the picture's community resource consultant Sam Gowan. "It brought noise back to a long-empty and great house. Old people said, 'I remember...' and younger people searched attics. The film involves the community, it continues the record, and it has given us greater continuity."

The North Dakota community where *Northern Lights* was filmed was equally a source of inspiration. Both Hanson and Nilsson grew up in the area. They know its Scandinavian traditions and its people intimately. Politics and romance have, however, been grafted with only partial success to the film's nostalgic visual imagery.

There is nothing wrong with recreating the past. But in *Heartland*, *Gal Young Un* and *Northern Lights* the approach to history is a romantic one. Families are idealized as a condition of group survival and the obsession with "authenticity"—defined as specific artifacts like oil lamps farm machinery and the like—ends up fetishizing the past as something merely quaint.

Nor are there many references

to a larger historical context. In *Northern Lights* for example the Non Partisan League exists in a vacuum, isolated from the political currents of its day. Equally un-historical is the depiction of personal relationships, which too often smacks of TV soap.

Populist grants.

The trend toward social anti-quarianism is fostered, in part, by government funding policies and especially by the "populism" of the National Endowment for the Humanities, today a major financing alternative for independents to private investment. By and large NEH has favored projects on historical rather than contemporary issues. Of the 41 media grants awarded in 1978, over ¾ were committed to develop films and TV shows about the past. For instance, a film about Baltimore's black community looks away from current problems and back over 200 years at organizations created by slaves, free blacks and freedmen. "Mexican-American," an eight-part TV series, dramatizes episodes in the history of Mexican-Americans without touch-

Continued on next page.



CLASSIFIED

ORGANIZATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Wisconsin is seeking personal and organizational papers, tape recording, and photographs from participants in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements for its Social Action Collection, a special collection of manuscript sources on American social movements. Interested donors please write: Sarah Cooper, State st., Madison, WI 53706

PUBLICATIONS

AUTO FUELS OF THE 1980s, by Jack Frazier, Solar Age Press: 71 pp. \$3.95 paper. "Methane as an alternative fuel for cars whose time has come, says West Virginia writer and publisher Jack Frazier." Order from Bellows Distribution, P.O. Box 782, Rochester, MN 55901.

STOPPING POWER METERS, LIBERATE GAS AND WATER, TONE DEAF (Red and Blue Phone Boxes), IRON GONADS, HOLOCAUST AMERICA, many other controversial and infamous survival publications. By John Williams, M.S.E.E. (CBS 60 MINUTES, 3/5/78 on "Power Pilferage"). Send 50¢ for brochure: CONSUMERTRONICS, PO Box 475-TNT Alamogordo, NM 88310.

THE GATHERING OF THE TRIBES OF THE EARTH; a book of 34 drawings. \$3 per copy: John Ashbaugh, 452 W. Doty St., Madison, WI 53703

A GUIDE TO COOPERATIVE ALTERNATIVES, a resource directory published by *Communities Magazine*, \$6.80 post-paid from our bookshop.

For our free list of periodicals by mail send us your name, address and a 15¢ stamp. A Periodical Retreat, 336 1/2 S. State, Ann Arbor, MI 48104.

ESSAYS BY TOM HAYDEN. "Inflation and the Decline of Liberalism" \$1.50; "Economic Democracy in the Age of Scarcity," \$2.50. Includes mailing and handling. Send check to: CED Education Fund, 304 S. Broadway #501, Los Angeles 90013.

FOR SALE

SHUT THEM DOWN for Christmas ...and forever. 3 color, silk screened Christmas cards. Profits to stop the nukes. \$7.50/pack of 25 post-cards printed 2 sides. \$4.50/pack of 10 folding cards and envelopes plus \$.50/pack for postage. Prepayment only to: BAC Street Design Collective, 151 W. Henry, Wooster, OH 44691.

LOST AND FOUND

JOSEPH BUTE & JUDY GOTTS-EGEN—We have your renewal notice but you forgot to include your address. Help us find you. Call or write *In These Times*, Attn: Circulation Dept

HELP WANTED

IN THESE TIMES is looking for a new Managing Editor. The job includes responsibility for the domestic and foreign news section of the newspaper and coordination of production with art department. Familiarity with the purpose and character of *In These Times* and journalistic experience are required. Salary is negotiable within very nar-

row limits. Call James Weinstein (312) 489-4444.

STUDENTS: Sell subs to ITT on campus and keep \$4 per sub. Write or call Pat Vander Meer at ITT, Chicago.

CHICAGO AREA SUBSCRIBERS—*In These Times* needs volunteers to help with special mailings & other projects. Call Bob Nicklas at 489-4444.

COLLEGE STUDENTS! Improve your grades. Send \$1.00 for your 356-page term paper catalog. 10,250 available. Research Assistance, Box 25918SK, Los Angeles, CA 90025 (213) 477-8226.

community organizer—Denver Area Justice and Peace Committee is an interfaith ACTION organization. Its major focus now is the Nestle's Boycott. An organizer experienced in house meetings, action strategy and asking for money is needed. Salary \$750/mo.+. Contact: Connie Curtis, DAJPC, 200 Josephine, Denver, CO 80206

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE seeks executive secretary for its Southeastern Regional Office based in Atlanta, GA. Qualifications include administrative and program experience, commitment to Quaker values, demonstrated ability to communicate ef-

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. Mail inquiries are welcome.

Tel. (312) 525-3667

Guilford Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

fectively. Send resumes to Search Committee, P.O. Box 2234, High Point, NC 27261. Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action employer.

THE APRIL 26 COALITION FOR A NON-NUCLEAR WORLD, planning for a national march on Washington, D.C. next April 26, seeks full and part-time staff for its Washington office. Skills in organizing, administration, fund-raising, media, coalition-building helpful. Movement experience necessary. Minorities, women and gays encouraged to apply. Send resume and three written references by November 15 to: Diane Linsky, 6025 Majors Lane #4, Columbia, MD 21045.

EDUCATION

CRITICAL STUDIES AT A STATE UNIVERSITY. Sangamon State University offers the opportunity for self-designed degree programs at the B.A. and M.A. levels in the Individual Option Program. Courses and other learning resources are available in a variety of areas including: Socialist-Feminism; Anarchy Today; Radical, Social and Political Theory; Marxism; Critical Theory; Community Organizing; Alternative Energy Systems; Institutional Racism; Euro-Communism; Radical Therapy. For more information contact Professor Robert Sipe, Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62708 or call (800) 252-8533.

OPPORTUNITIES

PART-TIME OR FULL-TIME established candy, toy and novelty route available. Earn \$20,000 to \$35,000 yearly. You can expand as you desire. Total investment only \$11,975.

For full details call Mr. Raymond collect 315/732-1149.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

W.L. TAYLOR 112782 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160
TOM TAYLOR 112782 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160
ROSCOE MILLION 113409 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, Va. 23160
Willie Price 114412 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160.
Joe Bentley, 113420 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160
Hans Hewitt 107987 Bland Corr. Center, B.C.C. Route 2 Bland, VA. 24315
Walter Chestnut 151818, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.
Joe Morris, #147-540, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.
John L. Wright, #124-730, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.
John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000 Steilacoom, WA 98388.
Thomas Eugene Sims, Box PMB #96038, Atlanta, GA 30315.
James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.
M. Chappell, 150-801, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.
Majec S. Muasher 146797 PO Box 45699 Lucasville, OH 45699

IN THESE TIMES CLASSIFIEDS

35¢ PER WORD PREPAID

SPECIAL DISCOUNTS

3-9 INSERTIONS 30¢ PER WORD
10-19 INSERTIONS 25¢ PER WORD
20+ INSERTIONS 20¢ PER WORD

SEND TO:

1509 N. MILWAUKEE AVE.
CHICAGO, IL 60622

Gold amid the glitter at NY Film Festival

By Ruth McCormick

The 17th New York Film Festival has just completed its course at the Alice Tully Hall in Lincoln Center. It has been argued that the New York Festival (and film festivals in general) show films that are leftist in their political sympathies. When one looks at the work of the directors whose films are most often chosen for showing—Bunuel, Bertolucci, Godard, Rosi, Fassbinder, Straub, Duras, Wajda, Meszuros, Jancso, Tanner, Oshima, Sembone—and various Third World filmmakers—there is indeed little celebration of the status quo.

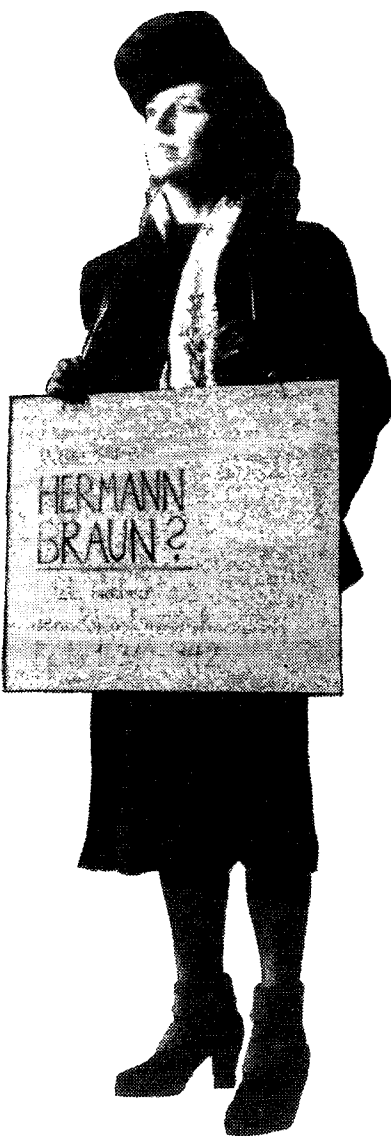
Although some good work was shown at this year's festival, there were a number of disappointments, mostly from established directors. Bernardo Bertolucci's *Luna* is a case in point. Beautifully photographed by Vittorio Storaro and well acted by Jill Clayburgh as a strong-minded opera singer who attempts to save her sullen teenage son from self destruction by seducing him, *Luna* is a failed attempt to intertwine operatic conceits with by now highly suspect Freudian dogma. The "grand finale" of the film, in which the father finally appears to restore the "primal couple"—giving the boy a proper set of parents who will presumably bring the boy out of his infantile sexual phase (which here also includes homosexuality)—is simply embarrassing.

John Houston's *Wise Blood* is a courageous attempt to bring Flannery O'Connor's first novel to the screen, and just misses succeeding. Though Brad Dourif, Ned Beatty and Amy Wright provide excellent characterizations, this story of a rebellious young soldier turned unorthodox country preacher never quite comes together. Another literary adaptation, James Ivory's version of Henry James' *The Europeans*, is even less successful. Though visually beautiful and studded with good performances, this study of 19th Century New England Calvinism confronted with Europeanized sophistication becomes tedious and slow, with very little identification possible between the audience and the characters. Unfortunately, Andrzej Wajda's *The Young*

Girls of Wilko has similar problems; it is also beautiful, but a slow, and not very involving account of a man's attempt to re-evaluate himself in terms of his relationship to five sisters he has known since childhood. It radiates, however, a warmth missing from the Ivory film.

Women directors.

Four of the festival films were directed by women. *My Brilliant Career*, a first feature by Australian director Gill Armstrong,



is a luminous, engrossing picture about a rebellious young woman in turn-of-the-century, back-country Australia. Talented Judy Davis portrays the penniless teenager who turns her back on a promising marriage to an affable young landowner in order to pursue her vocation to write.

Moliere, a monumental and painstakingly researched re-creation of the life of the 17th-cen-



Moliere was a historical materialist film.

Two excellent features from Eastern Europe probed the relationship between the personal and the political.

tury playwright, was directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, one of France's most celebrated theatrical directors. It is, indeed, an impressive achievement—a historical materialist biography in which the strengths and weaknesses of a gifted man are examined in a historical context of wealth and squalor, oppression and social upheaval. The film is too long, however, and energy generated begins to flag toward the middle of the film.

Anne-Claire Poirier, the first woman to achieve directorial status with the National Film Board of Canada, has combined fictional, documentary and cinema-verite footage in the most powerful anti-rape film ever made, *The Primal Fear*. Beginning with the sickeningly brutal rape of a nurse (based on an actual case), Poirier goes on to show us examples of the sexual abuse of women around the world. She includes personal testimony from a group of women, and then, children, who have suffered rape, and she has her alter ego discuss the political ramifications of rape with her editor. What comes through most powerfully in this film is the violation of the inner self experienced by many rape victims—a feeling that men, however sympathetic, can perhaps never understand. It seems almost superfluous that the nurse of the opening sequences suffers such extreme psychological damage that she finally commits suicide.

Deborah Shaffer and Stewart Bird are the directors of a full-length documentary, *The Wobblies*, which continues the recent trend toward oral history and compilation footage films designed to educate us about our own history. A fine job of research brings the experience of the International Workers of the World back to life, with photographs, news footage, excellent paintings and graphics, and, perhaps most important, the testimony of surviving IWW members. They are all spirited, still-militant people who know how to tell a good story. The result is an enlightening and entertaining film that joins company with *Union Maids* and *With Babies and Banners*. *The Wobblies*, however, suffers a lack of historical

analysis. Where did the IWW stand in relation to other groups? What were the conflicts between communist and anarchist members after 1917? How and why did the IWW virtually disappear from the American labor scene in the 1930s?

New German cinema.

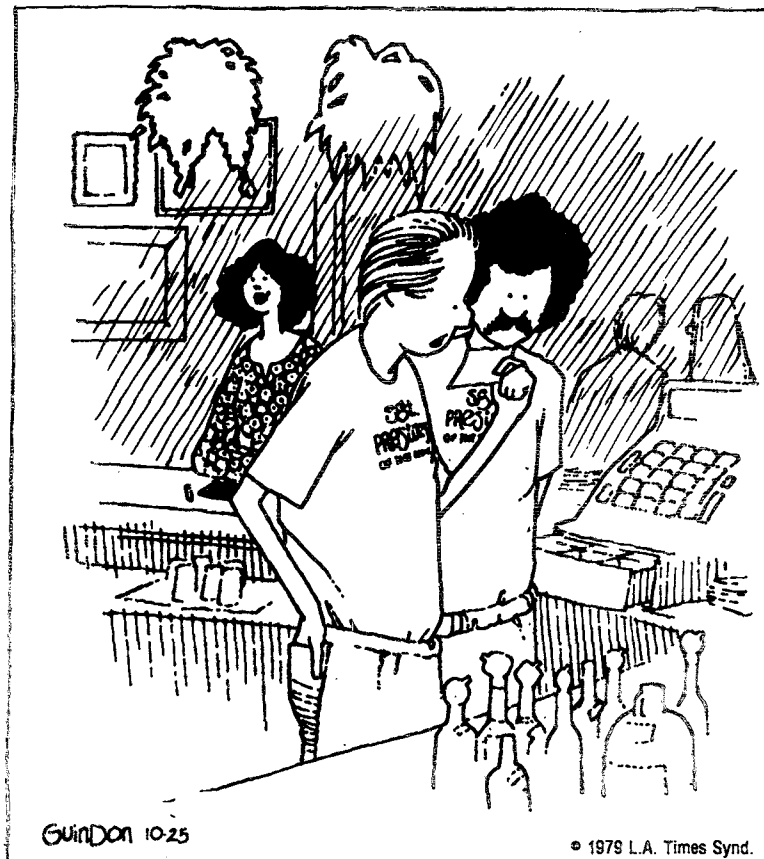
The Germans were, as usual, in evidence. Werner Herzog's incandescent *Nosferatu*, featuring Klaus Kinski as a vampire more to be pitied than feared, stays close to Murnau's original until the very end, which is pure Herzog. R.W. Fassbinder was represented by two films. *In a Year of 13 Moons* represents the filmmaker's experimental side—here, with the brilliant Volker Spengler as a transvestite whose world is coming apart. Homage is paid to Douglas Sirk and Jerry Lewis and again Fassbinder creates an oppressive world where to be different is to die. A more "classical" Fassbinder is represented in *The Marriage of Maria Braun*, in which Hanna Schygulla gives another of her marvelous per-

formances as a woman determined to keep her marriage together, and to attain respectability at any cost. At his best Fassbinder perhaps more than any other film director, understands the peculiar dialectic between the personal and the political.

Two excellent pictures from Eastern Europe, both highlights of the festival, also illustrate the relationship between the personal and political. Wajda's *Without Anesthesia* chronicles the downfall of a prominent correspondent whose wife leaves him for a younger man, and whose jealous co-workers consort to undermine his career. A fundamentally decent man who has worked hard to achieve success, he fights to recoup his losses, and fails.

In Pal Gabor's *Angi Vera*, an ambitious young woman, taken into the Party after the Communist victory in 1948, compromises her feelings and ideals only to lose the very dignity and autonomy that are the purpose of any real revolution. The former film deals with a man so caught up with larger issues, with the work he considers important, that he loses touch with the everyday realities—a neglected wife, envious rivals and petty politics. The latter chronicles the degeneration of a revolutionary into a bureaucrat. It is good to see Eastern bloc artists dealing with such questions.

Guindon



"I don't think it'll bounce.
It's got a horsey and ducky on it."

Independents

ing on their present problems.

Among filmmakers NEH has a reputation for broadmindedness as far as the context of the projects it funds. But the granting process itself, with its maze of bureaucratic requirements and checks, also encourages filmmakers to "play it safe." Moreover, NEH funding is almost always piecemeal, and approval at one stage does not guarantee a favorable decision at the next. And NEH support extends only through production. Filmmakers must look for other sources to pay for the release prints, distribution and publicity needed to bring the finished product to its audience.

Schulberg favors a combination of private and public funding to support the continuing development of American independent film. She advocates establishing an "independent feature corporation," with both government and private funds. She also supports lobbying by independents for creating a non-profit distribution organization to better distribute their own films. Finally she sees a pressing need to identify areas where cooperation is possible—with the Association of Specialized Film Exhibitors, media arts centers and existing regional arts councils.

Frank Stump, a man whose faded lungs normally force him to be calm, was animated for a moment telling a story about one of the countless little ways that workers are pressured into giving to the United Way.

"One year the boss man was going to get a TV if we gave the most. He told us that if he won we could come up to the house someday and watch it!"

Frank Stump was angry with the organization he and many of his fellow textile workers had supported for years. United Ways in North and South Carolina had just refused to fund an organization that he and many other disabled former textile workers belong to—the Carolina Brown Lung Association.

Those United Ways claim that the Association was not funded because it is no longer needed, since industry and government now do what the Association was founded to do—identify workers with brown lung, get them compensated and rid textile mills of the cotton dust that causes brown lung.

Members of the Association, however, think the reason has a great deal more to do with who makes United Way's decision. "That United Way board is stacked with textile people. The Association was formed four years ago by Sheppard, another brown lung victim."

The controversy is but one of many that have suddenly erupted across the country about the United Way, once the most sacrosanct of charities.

Other incidents include five law suits (most of which question United Way's virtual monopoly of workplace fund raising), a boycott, a national meeting to explore alternatives to United Way and congressional hearings on whether the federal government's charity drive (of which United Way is by far the biggest benefactor) is being run in an unconstitutional and discriminatory manner.

The controversy is interesting not only because it involves an organization that raises \$1.3 billion a year but because it is part of a developing movement to make American philanthropy—a \$40 billion-a-year enterprise—more responsive to change-oriented organizations.

At the nucleus of that movement is the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP). The committee sees the effort as critical because it deals with a problem that confronts all progressive movements: a crippling lack of resources. Philanthropy could be an enormous resource for change if enough pressure is

applied by organizations seeking change.

Many of the problems with philanthropy as it exists now—particularly with the country's largest philanthropy, the United Way—are illustrated by the Brown Lung incident.

Too Controversial

The Association was formed four years ago by some of the 35,000 former textile workers disabled by brown lung. It has had much success, particularly in helping disabled workers get through the maze of tests and forms and lawyers and time that lie between them and their 'right' to compensation.

But contrary to what United Way claims, the Association's work is just beginning. Less than one percent of brown lung victims have been compensated and only three percent have even filed for compensation. The delays are so long that the Association has just asked North Carolina's governor to fire

the person in charge of workmen's compensation. A new standard to control cotton dust, which languished for years in the federal bureaucracy, is now tied up, potentially for years, in the courts. One authority says that three fourths of the mills are in violation of the old standard.

To continue its struggle, the Association needs more resources, which is why it turned to United Way.

Part of the reason it was turned down is probably who makes the decisions, as Luke Sheppard believes. But the Association was also turned down because it's simply not the kind of organization United Ways fund. It's controversial. It challenges the interests of the business community. It has the vitality of a new organization. It is controlled by the people who benefit. And, while it definitely provides a service, it is also working to change an ineffectual system.

Plus, it is succeeding by involving working people, most of whom way they've never before been active in anything beyond the church bazaar.

Instead, United Way board members like to fund organizations run by people like them. Often they are them—in Minneapolis for instance, half the agencies receiving United Way funds have people on United Way's board. In Santa Clara, before a recent investigation forced changes, 40 of the United Way's 44 board members were white, 39 were male. A local newspaper called them "an inventory of the area's power structure."

They like to fund organizations that believe the problem with poor kids is that they don't have enough places to play—in other words, organizations that alleviate symptoms rather than change systems.

And United Way boards like to fund organizations they've funded before, a good way to assure minimal change. Only an average of 1.5 new agencies are admitted each year by 294 of the largest United Ways; United Way's overall allocations to its major recipients change less than one percent per year.

Many believe United Way boards also like to fund charities that primarily benefit white middle class people, a criticism United Way counters with statistics claiming that a third of its funds go to minorities. But how much of that money goes through charities controlled by minorities? Very little. In Baltimore for example, a city with a 52 percent minority population, only five percent of United Way funded agencies are run by minorities.

Control is thus retained by people acceptable to the business community, which is one reason the vast majority of businesses in the country only allow the United Way to solicit their employees.

It works ingeniously, being paid for mostly by workers (61 percent of United Way's income is provided by employees), being controlled mostly by executives.

Infusion

"If just 10 percent of the contributions being made by employees to United Way can be redirected to those types of organizations that are being neglected, that would mean a \$100 million infusion," explains James Abernathy, a local NCRP organizer.

"A lot of radical people think changing philanthropy is counterproductive because it helps prop up a bad system. But what we are talking about is a systemic change in an institution that affects nearly every other system in this country. And we are about creating new funding institutions."

There are two strategies—changing the process by which funds are given (which works in many ways to exclude change-oriented groups) and changing the composition of those who make the decision.

If it can be done, Abernathy says, it would give change-oriented movements something they've desperately needed: continuity.

"The history of progressive movements in this country is one of cycles. They have times of intense energy that generate a few victories, then they dissipate because there's no more money or the people are spent. And then a few years later they start again, only with new people who have to learn the issues."

And renew the relentless struggle for funding. Probably nothing contributes more to that pervasive progressive phenomenon known as "burn-out" than the lack of resources—both because there's not enough money and because most people so despise the time-consuming work of raising funds.

Which again brings us back to Brown Lung and United Way. If Brown Lung loses its momentum because it can't get enough funding and because its overextended staff exhausts themselves, it will be yet one more victim of the way things are.

Which beneath it all is why the story of Brown Lung and United Way is all about. ■
The NCRP has offices at 810 1st St. NW, #408, Washington D.C. 20001.

THANKS TO YOU IT WORKS FOR SOME OF US

BY TIMOTHY SAASTA



The United Way supports projects run by people like them. Sometimes they are them.